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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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A Fine Veto

President Roosevelt deserves the warmest praise for his veto of the Bankhead bill. This bill, passed by both houses, would increase the cost of food substantially by permitting farmers to leave out of account, in calculating expenses and credits as a basis for parity prices, all government benefits received. The President estimated that this would add about $1,000,000,000 to the price of food, representing an increase of some five percent in the cost of living. He warned that this would open the door to inflation, which would eventually hurt everyone, including the farmer himself. His veto message was a courageous and impressive document, one of his best in a long time.

Murray and Green

The President's veto of the Bankhead bill was given powerful support by the announcement of Philip Murray and William Green that both the CIO and the AFL now consider that stabilization or a reduction in the cost of living is more important to labor than increased wages. Their prompt support of the veto brings organized labor back on to the high road of sound policy. Since the CIO and the AFL have supported a veto withholding more money from farmers, their energies must be given over now to policing the prices of food and other retail items rather than to clamoring for higher wages. If the weight of organized labor is channeled along these lines, it becomes a bulwark of the entire war economy, rather than a boisterous contestant in a pull-devil-pull-baker affair that was sure to result in grave inflation. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out in his column, labor and its leaders, as supporters of a controlled price and wage system, will serve their own interests in the fundamental matter of dollars and cents, and gain back much of the public sympathy that they were losing. They were losing it not because labor was less justified than other parties to the tug-of-war, but because the situation made labor an easy target for the politicians and newspapers. Extra incentives for farmers will be needed in certain cases, but government subsidies are the answer for this, just as they are in industry, not a wild inflation of food prices.

The Ginsburg Case

Equally praiseworthy, in another field, was his letter supporting David Ginsburg, former general counsel of the OPA, who has been under attack of the most scurrilous character by forces in Congress that appear about equally bitter in their anti-Semitism and their opposition to the New Deal. It is interesting that the congressional committee in question, headed by Rep. John Costello, has as its counsel H. R. Burton, former attorney for Father Coughlin. The Costello Committee tried to smear Ginsburg as a draft dodger. The President wrote to Prentiss Brown, OPA administrator, saying:

> I am glad to know from your letter of March 13 that you feel as I do about the unfair attacks that have been made against David Ginsburg.
>
> Here is a young man who was working day and night on our war effort long before some who now attack him

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realized the danger to which our country was exposed. . . . Even before Pearl Harbor, Mr. Henderson told me that David was eager to get into the army, but that he could not spare him.

I know that David wanted to resign and go into the army when Mr. Henderson resigned. You urged him to stay at least until you had a chance to familiarize yourself with the many pressing administrative problems of OPA.

When you finally agreed to release him, he applied for a commission in the army for overseas service, for which he was eminently and peculiarly qualified and in which he would have at once been exposed to the dangers of war. The commission he applied for he could have readily secured months earlier if Mr. Henderson had not urged him, as a matter of patriotic duty, to remain in his civilian post. . . .

David has sent me word that he does not wish any exception to be made in his case and that it is his wish to be inducted into the army in the usual manner as quickly as possible. I have reluctantly concluded that we must yield to his wishes in this matter. He has done too much for the war effort already for us to ask him to expose himself to further calumny, even though you and I personally feel he could be more effective in the service of the country if he were immediately commissioned into the overseas service for which he applied.

I am sure when the political storms blow over, David's patriotic, unselfish and distinguished service to his country will be duly recognized.

Sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Washington observers believe the Costello Committee may prove as notorious as that of Martin Dies. A resolute band of anti-Semites in Congress could do a great deal of harm by intimidating Jews in essential government jobs, who are helpless before such attack because there is no clear-cut government policy in regard to deferment of important workers. Here is something that will bear watching.

Ehrlich and Alter

Deep reverberations are still being caused in the United States and Great Britain by the case of Ehrlich and Alter, the Polish Jewish Socialists who were executed in Soviet Russia. A public mass meeting in protest was held in New York City with the participation of Sen. James Mead, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, Rep. Jerry Voorhis, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr and other prominent Americans. The case has caused the most serious split yet witnessed, between the Communist-controlled and the non-Communist unions in the CIO, and this struggle may have far-reaching consequences.

In a really amazing document, Earl Browder now charges that the actions of Ehrlich and Alter were part of a plot to destroy the Soviet Union, a plot hatched on American soil. Mr. Browder doesn't quite make it clear whether he thinks these two Polish Socialists were to overthrow the Soviet Union themselves, with American help, or were to get themselves killed so as to embroil the Soviet Union with Great Britain and America.

Browder v. Minton

Mr. Bruce Minton, writing in The New Masses, is in flat contradiction to Mr. Browder. Mr. Minton believes Ehrlich and Alter were spies for the Polish Government-in-Exile, especially in its anti-Semitic aspects. He asks us to believe that these Polish Jewish Socialists were fools enough openly to write and distribute pro-Nazi literature in the Red Army. The difference in interpretation between Browder and Minton is the more startling since the Communists usually display a monolithic front of opinion to the world.

Mr. Browder's interpretation hardly seems worth serious discussion. His notion that any little band of American anti-Communists could or would try to overthrow the Soviet Union using as their means a couple of conspicuous Polish Jews, who would be marked men from the moment they crossed the border, speaks for itself. But Mr. Minton's alternative explanation leaves equally much to be desired. Why should the Polish Government-in-Exile want an immediate separate peace between Russia and Germany? Whenever in past history Russia and Germany have got together, Poland has disappeared. Even the most conservative Poles feel an implacable hatred for Germany.

It is interesting, by the way, to see that neither Mr. Minton nor Mr. Browder has any important information on this subject that was not already known to everyone else. Moscow tells the American comrades nothing. Even Mr. Browder, on this subject, is just another editorial writer, and in this instance at least, a hopelessly bad one.

Helping Soviet Russia

Were Ehrlich and Alter guilty of a crime in any way deserving the terrible penalty of execution? We don't know, just as Mr. Minton and Mr. Browder don't know; but the probabilities seem all against it. Long years ago, the outside world learned to be skeptical about political executions inside the USSR. On the basis of such evidence as is available, it seems most improbable that these men were guilty of being spies.

But this of course does not mean that there should be the slightest slackening in our efforts to help Russia, or that there is any reason why we should not coöperate with her now and in the post-war world. All the chief United Nations have sins on their consciences like the Ehrlich-Alter case. It is nonsense to suppose that going to war as allies automatically turns all nations into saints. The British in India have imprisoned, flogged or killed thousands of men whose only crime was patriotism. Chiang Kai-shek a few years ago tortured and executed many hundreds of the most brilliant spirits in China's rising generation. The United States put Mooney and Billings into prison for their beliefs, not their acts; the killing of Sacco and Vanzetti is a lasting stain on our honor. Some day, mankind may

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have risen high enough to do away with this endless series of murders. In the meantime, Soviet Russia badly needs our help against Hitler; and if anything we need Russia's help even more, in the same cause. Neither of us can afford for any reason to slacken these efforts.

The Tax Front Lags

In our preparations for total war, the fiscal program is far behind any other, and as a consequence we are still tottering on the brink of inflation. For this deficiency Congress is mainly responsible, since it is the constitutional duty of Congress to levy taxes. The next time any Republican or anti-administration Democratic member of that body criticizes any agency responsible to the President, for the bureaucracy or other deficiency, real or imaginary, the answer ought to be, what about taxes?

Nevertheless, the Treasury itself has played into the hands of congressional ineptitude in this matter, especially since the first of the year. By its lack of any comprehensive fiscal program and its senseless opposition to the Ruml plan, it has assisted in the creation of a tangle necessitating a new beginning after months of futile maneuvering. The people wanted Congress to enact a pay-as-you-go plan and Congress wanted to do it, but the legislators were so confused with phony arguments about "forgiveness" of a year's taxes and "windfalls" that they could not find any way to install the system without levying two years' taxes in one, which they naturally were reluctant to do. Now Secretary Morgenthau admits that pay-as-you-go is probably out for this year, and Congress will have to begin again to consider means of realizing the necessary increase in revenue. The result might have been quite different if the Treasury had in the beginning accepted the Ruml plan and insisted that the main job was to accompany it with desirable increases in rates.

An International Currency

For months, economists in Britain and the United States have been working on plans for avoiding, after the war, the disastrous fluctuations of international exchange rates which preceded it, with their effect in obstructing trade and stimulating flights of capital. The proposal by Lord Keynes is the first to receive widespread publicity. Like most of the others, it involves an international clearing center, and a valuation of the several currencies in terms of an international unit. Gold, of course, used to be the international currency, and the new world currency suggested by Lord Keynes would be related to gold, though not inflexibly bound to it. The details are complex and technical, and we expect to discuss them later at the requisite length.

One basic observation may be made at the outset. Any system which aims directly only at the stabilization of exchange is dealing with a symptom rather than with the disease. What leads to difficulties of this kind is not only the short-run fluctuations which the classical economic theory thought would be self-correcting if markets for goods and money were free, but long-term trends toward unbalanced international payments. To correct these trends it will be necessary to adopt measures leading to an expanding economy of worldwide scope, and the use of capital from the highly industrialized regions to develop industry in the countries whose principal exports have hitherto been agricultural products and raw materials.

Why Newspapers Mishandle the News

As a general rule, the American press has been much too optimistic about news from the battlefronts, and much too pessimistic about events at home. In Africa, Rommel's army has been "cornered" and "ripped to pieces" so often that many readers can't understand how it continues to exist. In Russia, we were led to expect not so many weeks ago that the Germans would retreat to the Polish border, if not to Berlin. From the South Pacific, we hear so much about the weakness of the Japanese air force that our fliers have never been given the proper credit for what they have accomplished, often with inferior planes and against heavy odds. But at home it is a very different story. You might think, from hastily reading some newspapers, that half the population had frozen to death last winter, and that the other half would starve to death this summer—unless the Marines come back in time to punish the wicked bureaucrats and institute the Ruml plan.

In this crisp treatment, we cannot see any deep-laid plot. Some newspapers, it is true, are so eager to beat Roosevelt in 1944 that they have forgotten about the need for winning the other war and, without thinking, are doing their best to lose it. Most of the press, however, is simply following the journalistic principle of playing up the news that people like to read. They like to read about victories, so every skirmish in Africa becomes a successful battle of annihilation. They like to believe that we are suffering at home almost as much as the soldiers at the front, and so the meat shortage is treated as if it were a national disaster.

Some of the news from the home front is really bad —not the news about food or gasoline—but the news about the public state of mind. Some people are confused; they don't understand why shortages are unavoidable, and most of them probably don't realize that, far from having won the war already, we have not begun to fight our biggest battle. The newspapers—chiefly through inadvertence, but in some few cases by design —have been adding to the dangerous confusion.

Wasting Workers

Ever since its establishment, the War Manpower Commission has been talking vague generalities about the importance of "more effective labor utilization." Lip-service has been paid to the British experience which proved the necessity of a system of labor in-

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spectors empowered to order individual employers to do whatever is required for the most effective use of available manpower. The Tolan Committee in the report on manpower which it issued many months ago pointed out that some such system of labor-utilization inspectors was imperative for real manpower mobilization in this country. Paul McNutt subsequently told the committee that he intended to institute such a plan in order to break up labor hoarding and the manpower wastage that comes from poor plant organization, but thus far he has failed to get started on this program, which so many people will resist so bitterly.

Dr. Frank H. Sparks of Wabash College, which is in Indiana, has now been added to the tight little coterie of Hoosiers who surround McNutt. He is to run a Bureau of Manpower Utilization. Sparks will have a staff, but they will be called "consultants," not inspectors. They are to go into individual plant situations but only if they are invited by the management to do so or when a specific complaint about under-utilization has been made. They are actually only consultants, with the power to advise and suggest, but no power to act to ensure that the necessary steps for boosting production are really taken.

Action apparently comes hard for McNutt and his deputies. This weak approach to a problem which is crying for fast, decisive action won't get the job done and won't fool anyone for long into thinking that it is.

Footnote

In our issue of January 18 we commented on conditions among the Japanese and Japanese Americans as they existed early last summer in Camp Harmony, at Puyallup, Washington. Our comment was based on an independent investigation made by The New Republic after a description in our pages of the situation in this camp, by Ted Nakashima, had been challenged as to its accuracy. In the course of our discussion we said:

> Conditions at this camp, except for the first few weeks, have been as good as could reasonably be expected by anyone. . . . Certainly there can be no doubt that our treatment of persons of the Japanese race has been infinitely better than has been the case with Americans who have been captured or interned by the Japanese.

Several correspondents have written us to criticize this phraseology, on the ground, which is of course true, that a large proportion of all the interned persons are American citizens, born in this country, and the overwhelming majority of them just as loyal to the United States as any other citizen. Some correspondents have also argued that how the Japanese in Japan are treating Americans is irrelevant to the issue, that in this country we should treat everyone, whether citizen or alien, by the standards of our own conscience.

Both these statements are true, and we regret that a condensed form of writing gave an impression that The New Republic did not mean to convey. We have from the beginning urged that a real effort should be made to separate loyal from disloyal persons among the internees and that the loyal ones should then be allowed, and aided, to resume their normal life; and we welcome the fact that government policy is now moving in that direction.

As for our reference to the treatment of Americans in Japan, there was a specific reason for it. The Japanese government has threatened exactly equal reprisals against Americans if any Japanese in this country is mistreated, and The New Republic did not and does not wish to contribute by inadvertence to any additional hardships inflicted upon our citizens who are in the hands of the enemy.

Churchill as Peace Leader

THERE HAS BEEN a widespread belief until recently both in Britain and America that while Winston Churchill is a great war captain, he is not a great peace leader. And there has been also an expectation that at the end of the war Churchill might step aside and let someone else take over. But his recent speech on postwar problems and Eden's conversations in Washington must be taken as indication that the England of Churchill and Eden must be reckoned with in the peace as in the war, and that Churchill intends to remain at the helm.

Americans know all too little of the internal British situation which furnished the context for Churchill's speech. The British people, like most, are caught between two strong currents of impulse. One is their feeling for what Walter Bagehot once called the "dignified" parts of the British governmental scheme, which (in Bagehot's words) "excite and preserve the reverence of the population"—the trappings of authority, the sense of aristocracy, the glamor of empire. The other is their feeling for the "efficient" elements of government—for an economic system that will give them security and a future that will work.

Churchill has brilliantly sought to exploit both currents of impulse. He has never lost his sense of empire, his feeling for the great perspectives of power, the intangible but pervasive confidence that the great British Tories can give that they are born to rule. But he has also, both through commissioning the Beveridge Report and his recent speech, sought to capture the natural battlements of the labor cause. He has made a bid for popular support by presenting himself as the champion of orderly but continuing internal reform, including a "four-year plan," a program of economic control and a program of social reconstruction. It is the old Lloyd George note of making England "a land fit for heroes to live in"—and in electoral terms it may work again. Meanwhile the British Left is split, and

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seems incapable of deciding whether it will oppose or support the Churchill government.

But for Americans there will be even more interest in British foreign post-war policy as we have gotten glimpses of it from both Churchill and Eden. The first thing to be said here is that the British are far more realistic about Russia than are the Americans, and have a far healthier and saner approach than do the American officials or the American press to Russia's place in a post-war world. There is, of course, a reason for this. The British know that they will have to live with the Russians in Europe, and that it will be better to live in peace than in hostility. They know that while America is rich and powerful, it is far away, and that Russia will emerge from the war a great world power, with enhanced prestige among the common people throughout Europe.

Hence Mr. Churchill's suggestion for a Council of Europe, with the implication that Britain and Russia will be partners in the leadership of it. And hence also Mr. Eden's conversations in Washington, which had clearly for their purpose the attempt to bring the State Department's mind to a more realistic appreciation of the need to work with Russia. What Churchill and Eden are in effect offering us is a perfectly frank choice: if America wants to join with Britain and Russia in a reorganization of Europe through a Council of Europe, all well and good; if the State Department prefers to follow its own line and dream of a Europe from which Russia has been excluded as a power, then the British and Russians will go along on their own, even without America. That the Eden conversations have had good effect is evident from the President's announcement of a coming conference between high Russian and American leaders—possibly even Roosevelt and Stalin.

There are, of course, many questions that Churchill will still have to clear up. His omission of any mention of China in a post-war world led many to wonder about British intentions on the Far East, and Eden had to make up for this in a very explicit speech before the Maryland legislature. There were also many who wondered whether Churchill's emphasis on regionalism—a Council of Europe and a Council of Asia—meant that he was skeptical of a larger world framework. The answer is probably that both he and the President feel that it is too early to talk of the nature of the broader structure of world authority. But it is an unsatisfactory answer to those who feel, as we do, that the creation of a world United Nations, with scope over economic problems, with investigating and judicial procedures, and with armed force in its hands, is essential to a lasting peace.

Even more serious was Eden's attempt to link England both with a policy of Russian coöperation and with the present American policy in North Africa and Spain. The two are clearly contradictory. For the pattern of our State Department policy in Europe is the pattern of appeasement of clerical fascist forces in Europe. Politically the only possible logic of this is the logic of building a counterforce to Russia on the European continent. For America and England to pursue such a policy is clearly incompatible with a policy of collaboration with Russia.

But although these contradictions exist in British policy, Americans cannot afford to be condescending toward them. No American liberal can fail to be struck by the paradox that "an oligarchy with aristocratic trimmings," as J. B. Priestley once described England, should be so much more enlightened in facing a post-war world than the vaunted American democracy.

Civilians Too

YOU ARE LIKELY to hear a good deal in the next few weeks about the now little known Maloney bill to establish an independent Civilian Supply Administration. The notably soft spot in the present war-production program is civilian supply, and the Maloney bill, weak though it is in many points, has been drafted to strengthen that spot.

Unquestionably the most intelligent approach to the problem of properly balancing civilian and military requirements is contained in the still-pending Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill for full mobilization of our war-time economy. Really effective handling of the present civilian-supply question would demand application of the principles of that bill. Political realism, however, demands an alternative, immediate plan for reorganizing civilian supply for the emergency. The Maloney bill is substantially that, and as such deserves careful consideration.

From the very beginning of the war program, the Office of Civilian Supply in the War Production Board has had a unique reputation. Supposed from its title to be a special-interest pleader, the Office of Civilian Supply has been instead the most "all-out" of all groups for conversion and curtailment of non-essentials. More than any other individual or organization, the OCS has struggled to keep the definition of "truly essential civilian requirements" down to realities, to keep it from becoming a slogan to block the all-out war effort. Now there is a new problem. Ever greater amounts of men and materials cannot be diverted from civilians without a danger that the withdrawal may destroy the basic economy supporting our war production.

How to protect this minimum essential is the question. The best New Dealers and the most thoughtful business men are now agreed that for a variety of reasons the best results will come from a new set-up designed to provide representation for civilian supply at the top level of war production, *i.e.*, on equality with army, navy and lend-lease, in initial determinations of raw-materials allocations. Charles Wilson of General

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Electric, for all practical purposes now head man of the WPB, is so busy with a number of bottleneck production situations like aircraft that he must be counted out of any other hot fights. Therefore, experienced observers urge that an independent Civilian Supply Agency be established outside of the WPB to act in support of civilian requirements as affairs develop, to determine when and where goods and services should be rationed, to provide loans, to buy or sell civilian goods and for other pressing purposes. They demand that an independent Civilian Supply Agency be prepared to grant loans to small business men and give them other assistance. Greater flexibility of action in the immediate future will mean a greater chance of controlling the short supply situation which will emerge in the next few months. Without something like the Maloney bill, the American consumer next year will suddenly feel the pinch of the production cut-back. He has not felt it yet, but it is coming.

The Maloney bill, if not the best of all possible solutions of the civilian-supply question, is the best thing in sight to improve the situation, and as such it deserves support.

Aside to Eddie Rickenbacker

DEAR CAPTAIN RICKENBACKER: If you are the patriotic American that you claim to be, we earnestly advise you to shut up and go home. It is perfectly clear by now that your public campaign is a failure. There is no evidence that you have helped to increase the war effort on the home front in any degree. Every experienced production man knows that pep talks like yours have no permanent effect, though they may cause a few people to work a little faster for a few hours or a day or two. On the other hand, you have deeply angered great masses of patriotic American workers who are really engaged on war production, and not just going around talking about it. You have impugned their loyalty to this country unjustly and without taking the trouble to learn what you were talking about. Your ignorance as to the actual facts of absenteeism and production has been amazing, and has made you vulnerable. You have presumed to speak for American soldiers as a whole, with no authority to do so. Vast numbers of these soldiers are members of the labor unions that you have traduced, and are strongly in disagreement with you.

Your public observations about absenteeism show an unforgivable willingness to let emotion take the place of facts. No doubt some people stay away from work needlessly, and this situation should certainly be remedied. But you are not the man to do it. Your own industry—aviation—has carefully investigated absenteeism and finds that illness on the part of the worker (mostly colds) causes three-quarters of all absenteeism among men. Illness of someone else in the family accounts for 8 percent. Transportation trouble, such as a broken-down car, causes 12 percent. "Miscellaneous," which presumably includes malingering among other things, accounts for only 3.3 percent. The figures among women workers are about the same. Surely there must be some more useful occupation for you than a 3.3-percent campaign that isn't getting anywhere.

Inevitably, when a man begins hurling wild charges in public as you have done, facts about him come out which he does not like. Rob Wagner's Script in a recent issue points out that there was bitter feeling between you and your companions during the time you were adrift in the Pacific. Two of those companions are trade-union men who bitterly resent and oppose your campaign of calumny. They say you have failed to make the public realize that this adventure wasn't your show; that you were just a passenger. They say further that when one of your companions began speaking publicly and made a fine impression, you scurried to the same part of the country "to take the play away from him."

It has been suggested that you are running for President in 1944 or 1948. If so, you have probably ruined your chances already. No political party is likely to pick a candidate who begins by incurring the bitter animosity of ten million labor-union members and their families. It has also been publicly charged that you are secretly engaged in a campaign against trade unions on behalf of the National Association of Manufacturers and their allies, and it is true that in recent years you have spoken and written entirely as a big business man. We prefer to think of you, however, as a not very subtle individual who has taken on the coloration of the group into which you happened to fall. We prefer to believe that you really do want to serve your country to the best of your ability. And we repeat: you can serve your country best by retiring at once from your present public activities.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
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Britain After the War

TRAVELERS returning from America report more discussion of peace aims and of post-war international organization in your country than over here. This is natural. You have been at war less than a year, whereas we are entering the fourth year of war. During the first year, when all was quiet on the western front, there was a great deal of discussion here too on those subjects. Since then we have entered the war zone, and are so fully mobilized for war both industrially and militarily that there are few left who have time and are free to speak of these things.

But there is another reason. In the United States, broadly speaking, the Left is in power, and the opposition of American conservatism to the views of the Left is damped down by the need for national unity in waging the war. Hence the inspiring lead given to public opinion by President Roosevelt, Vice President Wallace, Secretary Hull, Sumner Welles, Milo Perkins, and over here by Ambassador Winant. In this country the Conservative Party is still very much in power. Mr. Churchill candidly declared that the government did not wish to be definite about war aims for fear of disturbing national unity. For the same reason, although labor has formulated its own social and international policies, it has not pressed the government hard to commit itself on these issues. But a good deal of preparatory work is being done behind the scenes by various official and semi-official bodies. Mr. Churchill in his recent broadcast sketched the outline of some of this thinking.

Nevertheless, there are signs that Great Britain will undergo profounder and swifter changes after this war than the United States. Our need for change is greater, and the constitutional obstacles to change are less. The constitutional point is obvious: the British House of Commons is elected by universal suffrage and, if backed by strong public opinion, can do anything it likes: the House of Lords has lost its veto since 1911 and, if subjected to the kind of pressure which the Labor Party, at any rate, is formally pledged to apply, cannot even delay important legislation, on pain of being swamped by government nominees as a first step to its abolition. Whereas in the United States you have your rigid constitution with its division of powers between the states and the federal government, and between the administration, the Supreme Court and Congress (not to mention the possibilities of delay and friction between the Senate and the House of Representatives).

In what sense is our need for change greater than yours? Let me point the contrast by comparing our respective positions: At the end of this war the United States will be occupying roughly the position in relation to the world that Britain held in relation to Europe at the end of the last war; in 1918 Great Britain was the principal victor by air, land and sea, and had done the lion's share of financing the whole grand alliance. The British Empire was the greatest and most powerful aggregation of governments and territories in the world, and had the biggest share in framing the peace settlement and running the post-war international organization. The analogy may be carried even further: Great Britain entered the last war at the end of a period in which because of her *entente cordiale* with France, and later with Russia, she was less isolated in fact than in feeling. That is rather like your situation, first with relation to the League, and later with relation to the Allies in this war before you were directly attacked. After the last war Great Britain attempted to have it both ways in the League of Nations: *i. e.*, to combine the freedom of action of splendid isolation with the international responsibilities of a state concerned to maintain world peace and uphold international law and order. In the view of many over here, there is serious danger after this war that the United States may abandon isolation only to land in that kind of halfway house.

Today the British position is broadly analogous to that of France after the last war, although here the analogy is even rougher. The main fact is that in winning this war we lose our position as a world power. So far as we can retain a leading influence on world affairs, it will be through abandoning imperialism in favor of internationalism, and seeking to become the first among the smaller powers rather than the last among the great.

Partly this decline in Britain's international status was inevitable, and has been long foreseen. It was an Australian delegate at the unofficial imperial conference in Ottawa nearly a decade ago who pointed out that we had lost our industrial head start, were finding sea power outclassed by the new air weapon, and would have to resign ourselves to the constituent parts of the British Empire evolving into independent nations. He advocated as the only right policy in these circumstances merging the Empire in the collective organization of world peace. Looked at from this point of view, Great Britain's loss of status as a great world power follows that of France, which was preceded, in turn, by Spain, Holland and Sweden.

But partly, too, our decline has been aggravated by mistakes in British foreign and imperial policy since the Great War, and particularly since the great slump. For most of that period the Conservative Party has been in charge and has acted to an increasing extent as the political mouthpiece of powerful business and bank-

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ing interests. During the two brief interludes of weak Labor governments an attempt was made, with considerable promise of success, to make a reality of the collective system of peace and international coöperation embodied in the League of Nations. But the Conservative Party and the Foreign Office steadfastly refused to regard the maintenance of the collective system as a British national interest for which it was worth taking any risk or making any sacrifice.

The Conservative Party in fact changed places with the Left as regards foreign policy. Before the last war it was the Conservatives and the Foreign Office who stood for positive commitments in the shape of an alliance with France and Russia, and the Radicals and Laborites who were semi-pacifist isolationists. The last act of the Labor Party in August, 1914, was an impassioned appeal not to go to war for the sake of Russia!

In the period between two wars it was Labor that stood for positive commitments and particularly an Anglo-Franco-Russian alliance to make a reality of the collective system, whereas the Conservatives turned into imperial isolationists who mingled semi-pacifist arguments with appeals for rearmament. I believe your stand-pat Republicans have undergone a similar evolution—they used to be the protagonists of an active and dynamic American foreign policy, and have tended more and more since the last war to pipe like doves of peace on isolationist platforms.

In the case of British Conservatives the reason was quite simply that they had a total disbelief in the collective system, and became hostile to it when acting on the Covenant meant backing the anti-imperialist Chinese against Japanese imperialism, which was the traditional ally of British imperialism in the Far East; the semi-colonial Ethiopians against Italian imperialism, which was the partner and pupil of British imperialism in East Africa; and the Republicans and Socialists in Spain against that great Christian gentleman and Conservative, General Franco. Above all, they did not wish to build up even a balance of power for imperial defense with the Soviet Union against the Fascist Axis, which they regarded as a bulwark against the forces of social revolution and colonial insurgency. And so they appeased the Fascist powers singly to the point where they combined, crushed most of our allies and then fought us. It is certainly not due to the merits of Conservative foreign policy, nor to admiration for the things our Tories wish to preserve, that the British people have gained the United States and the Soviet Union as allies. Without them we should certainly be defeated.

Even with these two mighty allies Britain's imperial and appeasement chickens are coming home to roost with a vengeance. Japan has smashed British, French and Dutch imperialism throughout a large area of the Far East, ably assisted by the imperial policies pursued by these three powers. The concessions to Indian nationalism were too late and too little, and India is now to get her independence the hard way, to the accompaniment of so much ill feeling that she is scarcely likely to remain a member of the British Commonwealth on any terms. China is our ally and will emerge as a great power. She has already made it clear that she will not tolerate foreign concessions or extra-territorial privileges of any kind on her soil, and will claim the restoration of her sovereignty over Hong Kong. In Africa the liberation of Ethiopia, the overthrow of Italian imperialism and the effect of our victory on the French territories there will make necessary policies of colonial emancipation and international trusteeship. The neutral Irish Free State is a member of the British Commonwealth only in name. South Africa is an ally, concerned more with the fate of the African continent than the future of the British Commonwealth. Canada, Australia and even New Zealand are independent states which look as much to Washington as to London for friendship and coöperation. The industrialization of the dominions and of India in the war, and the working of the Lease-Lend Act and other wartime arrangements, mean that these countries can no longer be confined within any system of imperial preferences, but will demand their full share of the world's markets.

In the economic domain the need for change is equally unmistakable: this country is dependent for its standard of living on its external trade and investments. Even before the war our trade and shipping and the interest on foreign investments were no longer quite enough, and England was living partly on her capital, that is, on the sale every year of part of her investments abroad. Now most of our foreign investments have been sold to pay for our war imports, and we have contracted a vast public debt. Not only India and the dominions, but China, Japan and other overseas territories have become industrialized for war purposes, and Germany has built new industries over a large part of Europe. The agrarian populations of the world are demanding a higher standard of living and an equalization of the prices of their products with those of manufactured goods. Here again the war has speeded up developments that had begun long before.

In this changed world, the only way to maintain, let alone increase, the British standard of living is through a vast expansion of international trade and investment. But this, as pre-war history has shown, is impossible where vast, monopolistic financial and economic interests force governments to adopt policies of restriction and protection in order to keep up their profits. If the pledges of the Atlantic Charter are to be fulfilled, and the principles of the master lease-lend agreement of February 23, 1942, are to be applied, there must be policies of planned abundance harnessed to common social purposes. Such policies are incompatible with economic nationalism.

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Superficially, this seems to be accepted by all concerned in Great Britain: not a dissenting voice has been raised against the frequent declarations by Cabinet ministers that wartime economic controls must be maintained during the period of reconstruction. There has been universal approval of the report of the Uthwatt Committee recommending rather drastic control by the government of the land development as the necessary basis for reconstruction.

Except for a few eccentric individuals, there is impressive agreement on the need to abandon untrammeled private enterprise forever. The Labor Party's program—New Worlds for Old—is boldly socialist, though it is true of course that the party has lately shown little disposition to try to put its ideas into action. The organization started by J. B. Priestley and the Liberal M. P. Sir Richard Acland, known as Common Wealth, takes its stand on the belief that national and international reconstruction are impossible except through control of economic life by the state resting on "common ownership of the great national resources." At the Liberal Party conference last year the handful of laissez-fairists were defeated and a semi-socialist New Deal policy was adopted by a huge majority.

Sir Samuel Courtauld, one of Britain's leading business men, wrote in The Economic Journal of April, 1942, on "The Future Relations of Government and Industry":

> Government control has come to stay. With the growth and progressive combination of industries until their boundaries are practically co-terminous with those of the nation, it is the duty of the government to take power to control them, for no government can tolerate the existence within its borders of an organized and completely independent power with a radius of action as wide as its own.

The Federation of British Industries, too, has produced a post-war policy which is based on the view that a measure of state intervention and control in industry has become a permanent necessity. Finally the Marquess of Salisbury, leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Lords and the Grand Old Man of British Toryism, has published a pamphlet on post-war British Conservative policy, in which he plumps for state guidance and control of industry.

In this respect, too, the British position differs from what obtains in the States. There even leading New Dealers talk in terms of restoring the freedom of reformed private enterprise, whereas over here even our Tories now talk in terms of permanent state control. That is because, for nearly half a century, social legislation has been debated between the capitalist parties—Conservative and Liberal—in terms of concessions out of the surplus of freely working private enterprise. Now it is generally realized that private enterprise has fallen on evil days, and there is no longer any available surplus that can be tapped. Therefore there is now universal agreement on the principle of the state controlling economic life. The cleavage will come on the issue of who is to control the state.

And here the schemes of the Conservative Party, the Federation of British Industries, and even of enlightened industrialists like Sir Samuel Courtauld, quite obviously contemplate a prolongation into peacetime of the system which has grown up in this war, by which leading men in different branches of industry have become the government controllers of those industries. That is plutocracy in the starkest and plainest sense—big business running the state on "corporate" lines which would reduce the importance of Parliament, weaken the trade unions and in many ways approximate in mild forms the economic and social evolution of the Fascist states.

In Lord Salisbury's pamphlet, the plea for plutocracy is supported by a demand for income-tax concessions to help "foster" certain industries, as well as for national tariffs and imperial preferences, a rejection of the capital levy as a means of reducing the national debt, and such aphorisms as "the affluence of the rich is necessary for the amelioration of the condition of the poor"; "a man is in fact . . . not worse off but better off because others have been allowed to get rich"; "the right and power to make and preserve a private fortune must be jealously guarded"; "the body politic cannot flourish unless people are not only allowed but encouraged to accumulate and retain private wealth." The members of trade unions, he adds, "must be protected by the state from unfair political pressure by the organizations themselves"—this means the retention of the vindictive class legislation of the Trades Disputes Act of 1927 against which the Trades Union Conference is already vehemently protesting. As for education, it must include compulsory religious instruction in state schools, and should be conducted in the spirit of the remark that "equal opportunities for the education of all children, so literally stated, is impracticable; it is of no benefit to anyone to produce 100 percent more typists than are required, and 100 percent too few domestic servants." (The noble Lord is obviously sadly aware of the fact that young gals nowadays prefer working in offices to waiting on their betters.)

Characteristically enough, Lord Salisbury's pamphlet says not one word about foreign policy. Here our true-blue Tories are in a painful quandary: they know that the kind of policies after which they still hanker would not be tolerated for an instant by the majority of British opinion, and could not possibly be applied anyway without American and dominion help, which would not be forthcoming, and Soviet coöperation, which they do not want, even if they could get it, and could not get even if they wanted it. A bit of the Conservative mind on these matters is expressed by Lord Vansittart, who in many respects may be regarded as the Foreign Office with the lid off. Still more is re-

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vealed by Mr. F. A. Voigt, the editor of the appropriately named review, Nineteenth Century, whom it would be flattering to look on as Vansittart with the lid off. His solution for the future is a balance of power resting on a Polish-led confederation in Eastern Europe, and apparently on a bloc including a semi-Fascist Italy, Vichy France and Franco Spain in the West, to hold down Germany on the one hand and to keep Soviet influence out of Europe on the other. He is, needless to say, opposed to the opening of a second front in Europe. And, oh yes—he thinks the war is being fought to defend the British Empire, and that we must at all costs recover those regions of the Empire that have been lost to the enemy (including, specifically, Hong Kong).

This is a Tory's pipe dream, of course. What matters more than this drivel is the fact that at the end of this war we shall have some millions of young men and young women being demobilized and returning to civil life. The army today is more politically conscious than was the case in the last war. The prevailing mood is one of vague radicalism combined with skepticism with regard to all existing political parties, and considerable impatience with the old order. Among the workers there is a haunting fear of returning to unemployment. It should never be forgotten that between the First World War and the great slump one million was regarded as the minimum normal unemployment figure (before the last war it was half a million); between the great slump and the Second World War the minimum rose to two millions. It was brought below that figure only by massive rearmament.

After this war rearmament as a solution will be politically impossible, and plutocracy and imperial preferences will be economically impracticable. Moreover, the defeat of fascism will coincide with the revolutionary overthrow of the Axis and Quisling regimes throughout Europe from the Atlantic to the Soviet front. In the last war the Russian revolution had a tremendous effect on the British workers, although it occurred at the other end of Europe, and was partly "swamped" by the continuation of hostilities. This time the revolutions will occur at our doorstep and will coincide with an overwhelming need on both political and economic grounds to coöperate in reconstruction with the United States, the Soviet Union, China and revolutionary Europe.

In that political climate, and in such company, it is difficult to conceive of any barriers capable of resisting the overwhelming need for change. Resistance there will be, and no doubt our Tories will die hard. But that they can get away with maintaining the old order, or rather, with picking up the pieces and putting them together again, is hard to believe. All over the world reaction clung to appeasing fascism because it knew that the downfall of fascism would mean the defeat of reaction everywhere. That is still true.

London J. T. HARRIS

Will Franco Stay Appeased?

SPAIN projects into the Atlantic and the Mediterranean like an oversized thumb, threatening the vital Allied line of communications to North Africa. Spain is ruled by a fascist government, installed by the Axis and dedicated to an Axis victory. Spain's future, her territorial ambitions at Gibraltar and in North Africa, lie in the war balance—dependent upon an Axis victory in a world that cannot remain half-slave and half-free.

Spain now serves as main depot for Hitler's world-wide espionage and nefarious commerce; her leaders have publicly endorsed the Axis cause and proclaimed their faith in its ultimate victory; Spain momentarily could become the base for a second front against the United Nations in North Africa.

It is in the face of these considerations that our relations with Spain must be weighed. We also must consider the 100,000 or more Spanish troops in Morocco, threatening the vulnerable rear lines of General Eisenhower; but we must remember that the Spanish army lacks modern equipment and is backed by a weak economy and a starving nation—in other words, that Spain herself is not the military threat to the United Nations, but Germany is. Spain is the pathway across which the German hordes can travel. She is significant because of her strategic geographic position and her African colony.

Now, a quick look at Tunisia where the long awaited Allied offensive is in progress. There the Allies have concentrated a superior number of aircraft, have the top hand in all military aspects of current operations, and—if their supply lines hold up—promise to drive the Axis troops into the sea. There is little doubt that Hitler's position in Tunisia is critical. Unless he moves dramatically against the Allied forces elsewhere, or in some other way can relieve Rommel's position, he is doomed in the African continent. He must do something, or relinquish Africa to the Allies, relinquish a huge base for future invasion of Europe and expose his entire European underside to paralyzing air action by the Allies.

Although War Department spokesmen in Washington do not view the Spanish military situation as critical, it none the less has long been feared that Hitler's next bold move will be through the Iberian Peninsula. Some War Department officials have expressed the

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view that logistics would severely handicap such an operation. They believe that if Hitler had reinforcements available, he would use them in Tunisia, where he already is well established and organized; that supply and communications through barren Spain would be difficult; that reinforcement of Rommel would be more feasible through Italy, where communications are established.

Nevertheless, Secretary of War Stimson recently told a press conference that Hitler had more planes than he was using in Russia or Tunisia. The Secretary said the German air force may be grounded by a fuel shortage or, significantly, Germany may be hoarding her strength for another offensive.

We do know there is a large German army concentrated and waiting at the Franco-Spanish border. A huge number of Germans, including several thousand engineers, have infiltrated into Spain, and German agents are in control or close to control of vital communications and utilities in Spain—and waiting. Hitler, with customary detail and thoroughness, has well prepared the way in Spain for his armies. Even if Franco put up a token resistance, a German invasion would be fairly simple, particularly if we refused to enter the territory of a neutral country until our forces at Gibraltar or Africa were attacked.

A German thrust through Spain into Africa, taking advantage of the thorough prearrangements, would force Eisenhower to divide his forces and could develop into an encirclement of our forces, reversing the present military positions. But even if Hitler's communications and supplies are not strong enough to support a second army in Africa (as apparently believed by our War Department), a successful attack on Gibraltar could cut off our Mediterranean shipping and leave Eisenhower stranded for supplies and reinforcements. Hitler thus might paralyze our forces in North Africa through control of the Straits of Gibraltar without the necessity of invading North Africa and maintaining a combat unit there.

Realizing he will lose complete control of the Mediterranean, expose all of Southern Europe to invasion, permit endless supplies and troops to flow to the Allies if they overrun all of North Africa, Hitler *must* take every gamble to come back in that continent. Some observers even believed Rommel's original withdrawal was deliberate strategy to draw the Allies in from both sides and leave them exposed to a "squeeze" maneuver by German armies on either side. All of these considerations point to the inevitability of Hitler's moving through Spain soon or relinquishing final control of Africa to the United Nations.

In view of this approaching showdown, recent political developments between this country and Spain take on added significance. There are some indications that we are planning to meet the situation in a fashion similar to our Darlan arrangement in French Africa. Strategically located Spanish Morocco is now ruled by General Orgaz, an unswerving fascist but, like Darlan, an opportunist who is well aware of current trends in the war. Significantly, Lt.-Gen. George Patton, commander of the American forces in Tunisia, recently made a "social call" on Orgaz. Later, a War Department spokesman said it was safe to assume that Patton "impressed" Orgaz with the Allied strength in North Africa. Orgaz recently has been reported to be consolidating and extending his control in Morocco. The Spanish army has never been so ardently pro-collaboration as Falangist Party members; if we obtain coöperation from a powerful clique in Spain, it will be with members of the army.

Equally significant is the visit to this country of Col. Juan Beigbeder, an anti-German member of the Spanish army and Nationalist Party. Beigbeder is a bitter enemy of Franco's brother-in-law, Serrano Suñer (an enthusiastic collaborationist who probably will become Spain's Laval if Hitler takes over Spain without Franco's coöperation). Beigbeder, who at one time was saved from possible execution by army intervention in Spain, called first on Stimson and then on Hull and Roosevelt. Stimson described his conference with Beigbeder as another "social call." His mission to the United States generally was described as an effort "to seek a better understanding between the two nations."

But the most impressive indication of current trends is in our diplomatic relations with Spain. American Ambassador Carlton Hayes's February 26 speech in Spain, loaded with honied phrases for the "wise" Franco administration and foreseeing a pleasant future for the "peace economy" of the corrupt Fascist government so hated by the Spanish people (qualified, of course, with the understanding that Spain remains aloof from war) is an amazing indication of the careful line we are drawing between Spanish fascism and its parent and sponsor, German fascism. It is strangely comparable to our policy in Vichy. We show little concern for the feelings of the people and the impression we are making in other conquered, neutral and even Allied countries; we proceed again on the assumption that fascism is all right as long as it doesn't collaborate with Germany against us in the war.

Hayes's speech focused our attention on the situation because it touched on gasoline, a subject on which Americans are currently very sensitive. The exchange of gasoline—particularly when it does not come from this country or move in Allied vessels—for needed tungsten, copper, mercury and hides is a fairly sound business arrangement worked out by the capable Board of Economic Warfare. It includes a system of "preclusive" buying—purchasing vital materials to keep them from going to the Axis although we ourselves are not particularly in need of them.

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A small amount of lubricating oil, 15,000 tons, is allowed Spain annually by American-British navicerts, and about one-sixth of this year's quota, or 2,500 tons, has moved across America's overloaded transportation system in the first three months of this year to be picked up in Eastern ports by Spanish bottoms. However, the total tonnage, amounting to 100,000 barrels a year, is only about one-tenth of one day's customary oil load across the country, and hence is almost negligible.

On a simple business and military basis we have struck a good Yankee bargain and probably get more on paper than we give. But little known and important is the fact that some of the material we purchase, chiefly in the preclusive classification, is not being shipped to this country because of the congested and difficult shipping situation in the Atlantic. It is not required immediately by American industry and is stockpiled in Spain. A German invasion, striking suddenly and after the groundwork has been carefully prepared, might well ruin the value of our preclusive buying program.

Another disturbing factor is the ultimate destination of the oil shipped to Spain. The BEW contends, seemingly with some justification, that only enough oil flows to Spain to keep the basic economy going, allowing nothing for reshipping into Germany. In addition, a complicated system has been developed supposedly enabling Americans on the spot to check the oil on arrival and to check its distribution and even final utilization. In so far as possible, the BEW is attempting to keep well informed on the use of the oil.

Thus, on economic grounds, the BEW makes a fairly convincing case. But the economic arrangements are far outweighed by the political aspects of our Spanish policy. Ambassador Hayes's speech far transcends the question of oil or a "good bargain." It displays a callous disregard for principles and for the support of conquered peoples in Spain and throughout the world. It marks a great moral defeat for the People's War.

The economic aspects of our diplomacy cannot be viewed in isolation; they fit too neatly into an overall pattern of appeasement; the pattern parallels too closely our unhappy relations with Vichy France; it demonstrates again the State Department's blindness to the political elements of modern warfare—its willingness again to sacrifice our principles, in a war of principles, in the name of expediency.

The State Department policy is predicated on the theory that it is necessary to keep the Spanish economy from collapsing into the hands of Hitler, and Spain from actively entering the war on Hitler's side. It overlooks the fact that Spain is ill prepared to wage war in any capacity, and that when it suits Hitler's purposes he will invade Spain with little difficulty, regardless of the success of our appeasement policy. It overlooks the fact that the Spanish government has openly espoused and aided the Axis cause and must side with Hitler regardless, that the Spanish people, on the other hand, are anti-Hitler regardless—and that our policy, which purports to keep a fascist dictator government away from its blood brother, serves only to antagonize the Spanish people, who alone can effectively hinder an Axis invasion of Spain.

We must not forget the grave warning of Thomas Hamilton in his book "Appeasement's Child"—that we must not let practical business dealings dilute our zeal for a people's war and our hatred for fascism wherever it appears, that Spain, regardless of our policy, will sooner or later be drawn into the war.

"Even if everything we had sent to Spain had reached the people who needed it," Hamilton writes, "our donation would have been none the less harmful to our interests—and theirs—for it strengthened a regime which, like those in Germany and Japan, must be overthrown in order to bring a decent life for the world."

This is a war of black and white—we sooner or later must draw the line between our enemies and our comrades. We cannot accept Hitler's faithful stepchildren in our crusade because defeating Hitler is only part of the battle. This is a people's war, firmly imbedded in the Four Freedoms, and if we tolerate fascism to aid in defeating the Hitler branch of the family, we still are losing the most important part of the war.

If a deal is necessary in either Spain or Spanish Morocco, it should not be completed by selling democracy short, as in the last deal. If we wish to guarantee personal immunity to Orgaz, or Beigbeder, or whomever they represent, in return for military coöperation, it might be worth the price. But the line must be carefully drawn and publicly stated—that we oppose fascism everywhere. We must not brag that we were able to win over these men to our cause and we must not apologize or attempt to justify their records. We must assert, for the record, that they will have nothing to say or do in ruling their people in the future, that personal immunity—and that alone—is the only price we pay.

If a deal is required, we can make it a great political and psychological victory by following Hamilton's suggestion and establishing in Morocco, or in exile, a truly representative Spanish democratic government composed of exiled republicans in this country, England and Latin America.

Our prestige and our cause cannot stand another Darlan deal; we cannot afford to force a new set of fascist dictators upon another subjugated people in the name of military expediency; we have to stop making partnerships with fascists in a war against fascism.

Washington ROBERT REUBEN

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With the Chinese Guerrillas[1]

WE HAD WALKED SINCE DAWN, up jagged mountains, down into valleys, up again along narrow paths where no animal could go. We halted in villages where the gutters ran green with filth that bred a dozen diseases and where the people came in crowds to ask for medicine to cure the many sicknesses that made their lives a burden. Once we crossed a motor highway along which Japanese trucks sometimes ventured if they felt lucky. In the afternoon we stood on a pass on the crest of a range and looked down on glory. Below us lay a natural basin of gold and azure. A long azure lake reflected the azure sky. Fields of ripe grain gleamed like liquid gold. A few small white villages, set in green foliage, sparkled like jewels. Above and about this vision towered threatening, black jagged peaks.

"The hospital is in that temple," one of our guards said, pointing. He was from a guerrilla army and had guided us up to this mountain fastness in central Anhwei, where the guerrillas had a base hospital.

An hour later we were walking through the basin toward the temple. Over its colored tiled roofs with curved corners were ancient gnarled trees. On the paths before it stood lines of men in faded blue uniforms. Each man held a small triangular paper banner of welcome, and when we came in sight they began singing the guerrilla marching song.

One of them came down the path to welcome us. He saluted with his left hand. His right arm was crooked rigidly against his breast and the fingers of the hand were stiff and bent like the claws of a bird. His face was of striking beauty, finely chiseled and sensitive. The black eyes sparkled with eagerness. The countenance showed intelligent awareness of a high order. The impression given by the whole face was one of spirituality.

He led us up to the rows of men awaiting us, and as we came near we saw that most of them were crippled. Some were on crutches, some were without an arm or a leg, some had stiff legs or arms, and one man's leg had been fractured and had knit together at an angle. Others had arms in slings, crippled hands or bandaged heads. Almost all were maimed for life, and that was a tragedy. For good doctors could have prevented such deformities. And almost all of them were in their early twenties. Looking at their faces, we saw that they were pale and thin from undernourishment and suffering.

That evening I sat across a table from some of these men. Facing me was the man of striking beauty. To my questions he answered:

"My name is Chen Fang-chuen and I am twenty-six. I have been in this army since the fall of Nanking. No, I cannot read or write. Before I joined the army I was a poor peasant. We did not have enough food or clothing, so how could I study? Then, after I was in the army, I was always at the front. I have been wounded three times. When I lay in the hospital, there were only other wounded men like myself and we had no means of learning. Now we have some textbooks and we ask each other about the characters. We try to learn some each day; some learn one or two, some learn five. But we never know if we are right because there is no educated man among us."

"How did you get that stiff arm—and that hand?" I asked.

"It was like this—" he began:

"There was a drizzling rain. One night our commander said we were to attack the enemy coming from Hweiyuan. The news passed through our hearts and the hearts of our people so that we all forgot the bad weather. It was the tenth of August. Our commander said: 'Wherever you go, victory will follow. The enemy from Hweiyuan city has sent a column against us. They have a hundred puppet troops with them led by the traitor Chang Tien-tsu. They will have one heavy machine gun and three light machine guns, rifles and hand grenades. They think they can surround us before daybreak and attack us at dawn. But their action is always slow. At six they plan to surround us here at Changchuan and begin fighting at six-thirty. So they will have to start marching at two or three in the morning. We will keep them marching all day in the heat and then we will give them a welcome. Now, tonight we and all the civilians will leave Changchuan and move to Sunyingtze, and we must ask the pardon of the Imperial Army because we will not be here to receive them. They may feel poorly about that.'

"We all laughed.

"We moved out that night and when the enemy came to Changchuan next morning there was not even a shadow to be seen except one very old man. They asked this old man about us but he said he had never seen us, and he was so old that he forgot if had ever heard of us. Then they marched on to Sunchaochuan, thinking they would surprise and exterminate us there. We were not there either, so they fired off their guns to make a big noise. They think that frightens the people into telling them the truth. Some of the people then said that we were in another village further on. It was noon, and very hot, when they reached that village. Sweat was pouring down their faces. They were tired but ashamed to lose face by going back to Hweiyuan. So they marched on to another village, where they called all the people to a mass meeting and told them that the Imperial Army had come to protect civilians

[1] Extract from a book, "The Battle Hymn of China," to be published in the late summer by Alfred A. Knopf.

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from bandits and that after they completed their task they would withdraw.

"The civilians made them welcome and some of them kindly told them that we were at Neuwangmiao but pleaded that they never betray who told them. So the enemy marched toward Neuwangmiao. It was in the middle of the afternoon and by this time we felt that they were so tired that we ought to give them some kind of welcome.

"Our commander picked three of the best platoons, and I was among them. We had three light machine guns and we found good positions close to the path leading to Neuwangmiao. Many civilian men came with us to carry away our wounded and to help in other ways if they could, and some had spears and big swords. The enemy came along. By that time they had been marching for about twelve hours. Our machine guns went rat-a-tat-tat and many of the enemy fell. Some turned and began to run, but some stood stubbornly and fought, and before long everybody was fighting except those enemies who were carrying away the wounded and dead. But soon they all began to retreat and we followed after them. Soon they began to leave their dead and wounded behind. We followed them for hours, right up to near Hweiyuan. I did not go so far, for I was wounded. But others told me about it."

"That was a warm welcome, and it was a very polite farewell," I said, "for you escorted them right up to Hweiyuan."

The man smiled, then added: "Now, it's like this—the lessons of this battle are many. First, a guerrilla unit in a certain place should continue moving to new locations, particularly if it is close to the enemy. We did right there. Second, our intelligence service was slow. Our reserve units were not kept informed and did not quickly join in the fighting to completely exterminate the enemy. That was a weakness. Third, after opening fire we did not charge quickly and many of the enemy escaped. These were the lessons we learned."

"So!"

"Yes," he said.

"So that's the way you got this stiff arm and crooked hand!"

"Yes. I was wounded twice before but they were unimportant."

"What are you going to do now?"

"Do some kind of work. I'd like to go to the training camp and learn to read and write and do political work of some kind. I could go into transport work though I cannot carry. I'd like to learn the radio and receive and send messages to the whole world. We don't learn much about the world up here. Except for the Japanese, you are the first foreigner I have ever seen. Do all your countrymen look like you?"

I answered his question and turned to another man, thinking to get the story of how he was wounded. But by this time the room was filled with men, some sitting on the floor, some on benches, some standing. The candle light flickered on interested, excited eyes.

Instead of answering my question about his name, the man I turned to question asked: "You are an American—why do you speak English?"

We discussed this and then I turned to ask him a question about his wound, but he asked:

"Is it true that you have a machine that you can write on with all your fingers and that it goes very fast and you do not even watch what you hit?"

I asked my secretary-interpreter to bring my typewriter, and when it came I opened it and put in a sheet of paper and wrote. Gasps of astonishment resounded through the room. I wrote the names of men and gave them to them. They gazed in astonishment.

Voices asked: "How much does such a machine cost and do all Americans work it?"

I told him the cost, and the man of striking beauty said:

"You must be very rich!"

I denied this and then someone asked: "How much money does an American worker earn?" This aroused a tumultuous debate about the wealth of American workers. I explained the cost of living and how the money was spent. One man said: "I think you mean they earn three or five dollars a *month*, not a day." I explained.

Questions poured in upon me from every direction and I dispensed wisdom right and left. I told the distance to America; what an ocean liner and a factory looks like, how fast trains go, how moving pictures work and what they look like, what a piano is, demonstrated my camera after which it went from hand to hand and from eye to eye. I drew maps, talked about phonographs, discoursed on the origin of malaria, typhoid, dysentery and cholera and how to avoid them; talked on the virtues of democracy; I told them that the earth is round and that once I left China, visited the Soviet Union, Germany, France and America, and came back to China; told them what I saw in the Soviet Union and in Hitler's Germany—and answered their questions about how the workers and peasants live in all these countries.

The hours passed, the table was covered with peanuts and peanut shells and our tea bowls were filled time and time again. Midnight came and passed and I said that all men should be in bed. But they said that I was the first foreigner that had ever come to them and that if I was rich enough to do all the things I had done and go where I had gone, they did not see why I came to the enemy rear. Then they asked me my age and if I had children and why not and why my parents had not arranged a good marriage for me.

One remarked admiringly: "You have the spirit of a Bolshevik."

"No," I answered, and he replied, "Yes."

Then he said: "Sing us some American songs."

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So I sang them some American songs and they sang me some songs.

When I could go no further I said to the soldier:

"I came to get stories of the wounded, but it has been like fighting a battle."

"We would put you in our guerrilla intelligence service," he said.

"Thank you. But now I will go to bed."

"Tomorrow there will be a big mass meeting and all the people will be there. We want you to speak on the strength and weaknesses of the Japanese, and on the strength and weaknesses of the Chinese in this war."

"When, and for how long?"

"Tomorrow morning. Three hours will be long enough—can you finish in three hours?"

"Oh, quite! Do I have to sing some songs also?"

"Yes."

"Tomorrow evening our garrison in one of the villages will give you a dinner, and we would like you to speak to the men on the international situation."

"For how long?"

"For as long as you want. There will be questions afterwards."

"I can well imagine! My God!"

"What did you say? Oh—are you a Christian?"

"No."

"Why not?" His face lit up with the happy anticipation of another long discussion. All the men had come back and were leaning forward, their eyes gleaming. I said something about getting a little rest, then dragged myself to my room to the luxury of a board bed piled with yellow rice straw, fresh and sweet. In my honor they had piled on a lot. Bending down to unwrap my puttees I felt dizzy. At last I climbed up on the rice straw and sank down, saying to myself—

"Woman! You came to get stories from the wounded —a fat chance!" and then sank into oblivion.

AGNES SMEDLEY

When We Rebuild America

THE NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD has issued two documents of great historic importance, embodying between them a program for America. They were discussed by Max Lerner in our issue of March 22, and will be the subject of a special supplement to The New Republic to be published with our next issue.

One of the important aspects of the NRPB report is its list of proposals for national projects in the post-war world. There is a comprehensive series of such projects, breathtaking in their scope and imagination. The NRPB report, however, says fairly little about the facts of the present situation—that is, the shortage of certain things and the cost in detail of meeting it. It occurred to me that it would be interesting to get the opinion of some of the experts on what the country needs, in a few of these categories; and this I have done and recorded the result below.

1. There are in the United States houses for thirty-seven million families. Of these, seven millions are today in shockingly bad condition, two millions on farms and five millions in towns. Out of them came a good many of the 40 or 50 percent of drafted men, in the first group called, who were found physically unfit for military duty. Miles L. Colean estimates that we have a great shortage partly because during the past ten years we have built only three new houses for every five young couples that got married and started out in life. At present the number of such young couples outruns the number of new houses by 420,000 a year. Even before the war we had a deficit of a million houses, and it is getting bigger all the time.

Mr. Colean estimates that we need not fewer than nine hundred thousand, and perhaps as many as a million, two hundred thousand, new houses every year for ten years. These should cost a minimum of $3,400 for the house alone; the finished job, including land, grading and utility connections, is somewhat higher. Many of the houses of course will be built for people with larger incomes and will require more than the minimum mentioned. Mr. Colean and other experts whom I have consulted estimate that we could spend on housing to very great advantage about six and one-half billions annually for ten years. This is actually less than the percentage of our national income that has gone into new housing in some good years in the past, so that the proposal is a conservative one.

2. Another great item of post-war need is good roads. We spent roughly fifteen billion dollars on roads during the automobile age, but unluckily our engineers did not plan with enough vision. Most of them thought a two-lane macadam or concrete highway was all we could ever need, and nearly all their construction is already obsolete. We now have only a few hundred miles of the roads of the future, with two or three lanes in each direction, divided traffic, parking strips on both sides and no grade crossings. The cost to the country of congestion and abnormally slow speed is tremendous.

The United States Public Roads Administration, which coöperates with local authorities all over the country, already has laid out a plan for the most urgently needed roads as soon as the war is ended. If the citizens of San Jose, California, Washington, D. C., Wellesley, Massachusetts, St. Louis, Missouri, Elizabeth, New Jersey, Corinth, Mississippi, and many other

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places knew as much as I do about what is planned for them, they would be surprised and pleased. Not all the needed roads, of course, will be built simultaneously; the job will begin at the points of greatest urgency.

The Public Roads Administration has a plan for improving an existing but inadequate "inter-regional system" connecting all parts of the United States, and covering 25,000 miles. These roads will need about $5,000,000,000 over the next thirty years. Another 10,000 miles of feeder roads might well be included, at proportionately higher cost. An estimate made for the purposes of this article by the Public Roads Administration is that in the next fifteen to twenty years we could spend to advantage on roads well over $15,000,000,000. Much of this money would of course be raised locally and spent locally, and it is safe to assume that taxpayers would make sure they got value received.

3. Another field where money can be spent profitably is on our education. America has the highest general level of learning among all the large countries of the world, but it is still not so high as it ought to be. Scientific tests have shown that there are millions of people of great intellectual abilities who are handicapped by inadequate education. As the richest country in the world, we certainly should be able to give every boy and girl a free public education up to the point indicated by their abilities. The NRPB report lays great stress on this idea.

In a study sent me by the United States Office of Education for the purposes of this article, it is pointed out that we are now spending not quite three billion dollars a year for public education. To attain the ideal mentioned above, we should increase this to about five billions and also, at the beginning, invest another five billions in equipment.

4. Closely allied to education is the subject of health. I have already mentioned the disturbing facts revealed by the draft. The revelations about the health of civilians are equally disturbing. Careful estimates say, for example, that preventable illness causes a loss to industry of half a billion dollars annually.

A study prepared for the purposes of this article by the United States Public Health Service gives some figures on what might well be spent for medical purposes during the first five years after the coming of peace. In many parts of the country there is a serious shortage of hospitals. To bring the whole nation up to a reasonable level would require somewhat more than a billion dollars. We also need in many communities better sewage disposal, better water systems and better control of the waste products of factories, mines and oil wells, which today frequently pollute the nearby air, rivers, vegetation, or all three. Activities of these types would need in five years about $1,500,000,000.

The country has not yet conquered the problem of the malarial mosquito, as the health records of the drafted men clearly show. We could put an end to it throughout the United States for a hundred million dollars and it would be a very wise national investment.

In addition, we should spend more than we do every year on maintenance of health activities, including the matters just mentioned. Without going into details, it is estimated we could have a truly healthy nation for an annual medical expenditure of four-fifths of a billion. Lumping in the construction costs of sewage plants, hospitals, etc., we have a total cost of one and one-third billions a year for the first five years, one billion a year for the next five years, and four-fifths of a billion thereafter. This investment would far more than pay for itself in added productivity of a people who were in vigorous good health.

To this might well be added the costs of medical research. What would it be worth to our civilization to find positive cures for cancer, infantile paralysis, tuberculosis and heart disease? How much could profitably be expended on scholarships in medical schools for young men and women who have native gifts in this field but lack the money to carry them through? It is clear that huge sums might be spent in these ways if we wanted to do so.

5. There are many other things that need to be done in America, far more than can be mentioned in a brief article. One of these is a permanent system of erosion control. Few people realize that the United States is permitting the destruction of its best land by erosion and that if this process were to continue for another hundred years, most of the country would be uninhabitable—unless mankind has learned by that time to live on synthetic food, and perhaps even in that case.

Dr. Hugh Bennett, chief of the United States Soil Conservation Service and a leading spirit in the fight to preserve the American soil, tells me that waste through erosion could be ended in a quarter of a century, at a cost of about three billion dollars—say, $125,000,000 a year. Of this, individual landowners should, and probably would, be glad to pay their fair share, about two-fifths of the total. The chief limiting factor would be the shortage of trained men, especially because the United States is now getting calls for help in this sort of work from all over the world.

All these projects together could be handled at a total cost, at its highest point, of only one-sixth as much as we are now spending per year for war purposes. Of the total, more than half would come from private sources as an ordinary commercial investment. To put it another way: we could carry a year of all these enterprises for only two months of the cost of the war. We could reduce our present taxes about 80 percent and still pay the government's share of all of them in cash, without borrowing. Let no one say, therefore, that we cannot afford to do these things. We can afford anything for which we have the will, the men and the materials. If we decide not to make America over, it will be for some other reason.

BRUCE BLIVEN

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Washington Notes

Inflation and the Fourth Term

THERE IS a wartime yearning among Washington correspondents to get away from all these complicated economic problems and to get back to simple politics. It isn't merely controversies over taxes, economics, Ruml plans, parity demands and equally incomprehensible things of that sort. The Washington correspondent is a little fed up, too, with military matters, and all the columns by retired rear-admirals about South Sea battles and what our naval strategy ought to be. For your forgotten Washington correspondent, chat and gossip about a fourth term are a form of escapism.

Once, traveling through Baltimore, I asked a local journalist how he plied his trade and supported his wife and family, and he replied, "I do vice and crime for Hearst." He made the announcement as simply and casually as though he were announcing himself a lawyer, or a simple lavatory attendant. For lo, these many years, I have pondered that reply and its implications. And it came to me, in a mellow reminder, as I read the articles written after cagey Frank Walker, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, had his little interview with political writers the other day in his lush walnut-paneled office at the Post Office. He didn't say much, and the story didn't really amount to anything. He weighed each question seriously, caught the implications and traps involved and gave forth answers in a smooth, avuncular fashion, with disarming evidences of candor and frankness. It was a slick performance. But all that Mr. Walker said was, in effect, that he hoped it would be a short campaign and conducted "on a high level." Period.

Well, that little peg was good for a fourth-term story up and down the country, particularly when coupled with Harrison Spangler's snippy reply. The space given to it, and the attention lavished on it, shows that there may be a certain truth in the current comment of a hard-boiled reporter of the Hearst school on the American public's present mood: "What this country really needs," he insists, "is a good sex-murder story." Right or wrong, that is his diagnosis.

There is, as a matter of fact, great difficulty at the present time in keeping the public's eye on the big issues. Attention is apt to wander off on all sorts of secondary matters. Take the problem of inflation, for example. In all the discussion of inflation there is one cardinal point that is the heart of the matter, no matter how enticing other angles may be. And yet it is hard for Washington observers to get it over. The real cure for inflation is taxation. That is the center of the whole tangle.

President Roosevelt last January said we needed to collect not less than $16,000,000,000 of "additional funds" to halt the inflationary spiral. Congress hasn't even thought about more taxes since he made that appeal. It has done a lot of other things, to be sure, but it hasn't faced that main issue. Freezing rents, fixing prices, rationing goods, buying bonds, fighting the black market, resisting farm-bloc demands and putting a ceiling on runaway wages all, of course, help the anti-inflationary battle. But the major military instrument in this campaign is taxes. And Congress has shied away from the subject, and most of the public has been glad to forget it, too.

True, Congress has just wound up a three-months' discussion of the Ruml plan. But the Ruml plan, whatever else it may be, is essentially a side issue. It deals with the technique of collecting taxes, not with levying *more* taxes. And to halt inflation, like it or not, more taxes will have to be raised.

The Office of War Information has just pointed out that Canada and Great Britain are meeting 50 percent of their budgets by taxes; the United States only one-third. Again, after paying the prospective taxes for 1943, America will still have about $50,000,000,000 more income than it had after paying 1940 taxes. Put in blunt terms, America is prospering on this war. And meanwhile the inflationary potential is mounting higher and higher, with fewer and fewer consumers' goods to buy. It may be more fun to argue about the Ruml plan, but the hard and gritty fact is that what the anti-inflation fight needs is more taxes, and no substitute need apply.

As for the fourth term, present sentiment in Washington can be put briefly. If the war is going on next year Mr. Roosevelt very likely will run—and may be reëlected. If the war should have ended, 1944 looks mighty like a Republican landslide year, whether Mr. Roosevelt runs or not.

One of the interesting post-war problems to which little attention so far has been directed is what will happen to the huge investments by taxpayers in war plants when peace comes. The millionaire profiteers of World War II, for the most part, will probably come *after* the war. The big killing lies ahead, or has already been prepared for, as in the Alcoa Shipsaw grab, in Canada. It will consist in turning over to private industries the gigantic war plants built, financed and at present owned, by the government.

Do you remember the controversy after World War I as to who should get Muscle Shoals? Henry Ford came within an ace of leasing it for one hundred years. Coolidge and Hoover vetoed respective bills for government operation, though George Norris' TVA proposal finally won out.

But after this war, instead of one Muscle Shoals war plant, there will be hundreds, yes, thousands. I am told that you and I (and the rest of us taxpayers) now have *fifteen billion dollars* invested in war plants of one sort or another; fifteen billion dollars' worth of federal production plant and machinery to be distributed after this war. Think of it.

Put in a Republican House, and a Republican Senate in 1944, and put Mr. Bricker in as President—and there will be the greatest redistribution of wealth in the history of the United States, and the largest crop of post-war millionaires.

Come to think of it, maybe that is one of the reasons why the conservatives' fight against a fourth term for President Roosevelt has started so early.

T. R. B.

Washington

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One for the Ages

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DOCUMENTARY, "Desert Victory," is a pleasure and an excitement. It is a real documentary, not a newsreel assembly that jumps from one minute part of one event to another minute part of another event until two reels are over. "Desert Victory," in fact, puts you inside the North African campaign where it was last October, and allows you to see it as it progresses, from the beginning to the end. At the start the British Eighth Army was barely holding a thirty-mile front between the Quattara depression and the sea, and at the end British tanks are passing, thirteen weeks later and 1,300 miles further west, through the gates of Tripoli.

This is the first time a movie has been the original source for the clearest account of an event. The film-makers of the British government were obviously as well prepared for the attack that came in the night of October 23 as was the Eighth Army under Montgomery. The photographing of this attack is so successful that the soldiers come as close to being movie players, without being, as is possible—this while clawing their way forward through barbed wire, or fishing anti-tank mines out of the sand, or as their bagpiper plays while walking with the Highlanders, stiff-legged and sweating, through their own land mines. Seconds before the signal for attack is given the screen goes bare and silent, and then explodes in your face as British artillery laid down the barrage that shook buildings outside of Alexandria, sixty miles away. So that here, for the first time, is a sustained record on film of an attack, as it was being made —the entire scope of Montgomery's plan is studied as it unfolds. Incredible photography was almost underfoot of the advancing Highlanders, up ahead clearing the way with the heroic sappers, with the air force that was strewing the desert with Axis wreckage. There was even a photographer to run around with the dour, angular-faced Montgomery. Everywhere the event is examined with the completest curiosity of which the camera is capable (from Rommel's viewpoint as well).

"Desert Victory" contains the two great ingredients of the English movie tradition: slow, lucid, beautifully modulated photography, and nearly perfect film editing. The photography sees the outside world of texture and light values in the same way as the human eye, leaving the business of drama and working up of emotions to the content of the event itself. (The opposite of this method, of course, is that of Orson Welles, whose camera is used to fix mood artificially.) While English photography seeks the clarity of the eye, English editing tries to follow the demands of human instinct, that is, to approach the heart of an event and to stay with it as long as one's curiosity holds out. This technique, as applied in "Desert Victory," is in contrast to the flickering, choppy aspect of the Russian war documentaries, where the heavy hand of moral and purpose is always teaching you your lesson—this scene is to show that the Nazis destroy art, that one that the Russian pianist raises morale, the other that Russian women work in coal mines, etc., and never is the continuity controlled by the unpredictable progress of the event but by a program of secondary meanings. This is not in any way to condemn the brilliant work the Russians are doing in covering their war, but only to say that emotion and interest in a film have more chance of taking hold when the event is shown at such length that it can speak for itself.

The longest chase in history, that of Rommel from El Alamein to Tripoli, is in the film sketchily, mostly signposts and a touch at each stop—Tobruk, Bengazi, El Agheila—to watch the crowds lining the street as the British go through. But the main purpose of the film has already been accomplished, to a thorough degree, and that rare thing, a perfect movie, has been made. Col. David McDonald, of the Army Film and Photographic Unit, directed twenty-six men in making "Desert Victory"; four were killed, six wounded, seven captured. It is a fact that Tobruk was actually taken by the British film unit, which arrived some hours in advance of the fighting forces.

MANNY FARBER

Brief Candle

Richard III. Forrest Theatre, March 26, 1943.

THEATRE PRODUCTIONS' "Richard the Third," the only presentation of a Shakespeare play this season, is already closed; but though its value is gone as theatre news of the day, it cannot be left without record in such a paper as The New Republic. This "Richard the Third," staged by Mr. George Coulouris, who also took the leading role, was a highly honorable venture. The arrangement of the text was in a sound tradition, Motley's setting, of various levels, walls, arches and adaptable entrances, was on the whole unusually good—out of class, for example, with those of Mr. Maurice Evans' ugly and ill adapted "Macbeth"—though Mr. Coulouris overdid the use of the levels at times to the distraction of the dramatic effect. Miss Jean Rosenthal's lighting was dramatic and technically expert, the best in fact that, the lighting of Robert Edmond Jones excepted, I have seen in a Shakespeare production on Broadway. The general tone of the company was much above the average as Shakespeare companies go.

Personally I don't see it that way at all, but anybody could easily see how one might imagine a thrilling application of this drama to our time. There is the central villain, tyrant, murderer, dictator, egomaniac; there are the hereditary heirs and ruling figures overturned, murdered and what not, the violent personalities in competition, the scheming, the wars on wars, the waste and ruin of the surrounding little people who make up the world's masses. And so all this labor, money and high, serious intention goes to this Shakespearean occasion. Take it or leave it. Evidently the public did not care to take our world today in that form.

The history of the play has plenty of support in favor of another attempt at its revival. The records of its production and publication in Shakespeare's own time are clear enough, and Colley Cibber's adaptation, acted first in 1700, held the stage for more than a hundred and fifty years. The list of our American tragic actors has numerous famous Richards. But the play seems to me now more than ever to be heavily dated. It comes among the very earliest of Shakespeare's works: the three Henry VI plays are usually placed in 1540-41, and the Richard III play assigned to 1542. The influence of Marlowe is strongly in evidence, but with-

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out the totality of poetic mood and dramatic impact of Marlowe's form, into which Shakespeare's psychological processes and dramatic motivations do not entirely fit. The verse the actors have to speak is all too often halted with the single stop lines and is overfull of that extravagance of images, conceits and *tours de force* in style that the Elizabethan epoch whipped up out of the Renaissance.

And in "Richard the Third" there is too often the impression that Dowden, one of the great Shakespearean commentators, long since pointed out: in the earliest plays, he says, the language is sometimes as it were a dress put upon the thought—a dress ornamented with superfluous care; the idea is at times hardly sufficient to fill out the language in which it is put; in the middle plays, "Julius Caesar," for example, there seems a perfect balance and equality between the thought and its expression. In the latest plays this balance is disturbed by the preponderance or excess of the ideas over the means of giving them utterance. These observations of Dowden's may be argued in detail perhaps, but they bear with much point on some of our present-day difficulties with "Richard the Third."

The dominating figure and theme of the play is of course, Richard; who may be termed, as Professor Kittredge says, Shakespeare's dramatic interpretation of the Machiavellian villain—a type whose general features were already well settled in the Elizabethan mind. This means that Richard is a villain indeed, black, incessant, insatiably evil. There on the stage at the Forrest he seemed too monotonously so. This was due partly to Mr. Coulouris, whose portrayal of the role was careful and distinct, and often satisfactory, but who lacked variety in approach to the motifs and needed for the character's passions and emotional transitions a much more violent chiaroscuro. (It is also likely that if Mr. Coulouris could have wrung more varied reactions and intense response from the players around him who were enacting the victims of Richard's crimes, the central villainous role would itself have been less monotonous.) But when we consider what the real Machiavelli actually was, in relation to historical theory, political thinking, and so forth, and see what he came to in, for example, this Richard play, we have an inexhaustible comment on the Elizabethan mind in one of its cruder aspects, not to say its central barbarity.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that in "Richard the Third" we get the surprise we always get when we see a Shakespeare drama played on the stage. Despite their twists, mannerisms, dated overlay of style, we get the surprise—almost the shock—of boldness in these scenes that Shakespeare creates, a passion of complex analysis and emotional design, an originality that is so inner and basic that we have to be in his very presence thus to remember it fully. There is in fact a kind of life in Shakespeare at his best that requires his very presence, on the page or in the theatre, for us to remember it in its full marvel.

Among the many players, none of them absurd, Mr. Philip Bourneuf stood out for his good work as the Duke of Buckingham; Mr. Harold Young played the Duke of Clarence with unusual finish and taste; and Mr. John Ireland as Richmond proved himself a promising young actor, with excellent stage qualities. The occasion as a whole was well worth seeing and deserved a better fate.

STARK YOUNG

A Communication

Is There a "Catholic Issue"?

SIR: Many of us who had followed the writings of the late George P. West were shocked and puzzled by his production in the March 1 number of The New Republic. He was one of the last persons from whom we should have expected such an outburst. In the following paragraphs I shall analyze the positions taken in the article and show that the underlying facts point to a different set of practical conclusions.

The theory, outlined on pages 278, 279, that "the policy of organized assertion and aggression" can be traced to Catholic resentment over the defeat of Al Smith in 1928, is interesting but I never heard it advanced before. It has no substantial basis in facts.

The principal charges elaborated in this article are these: first, the Catholic campaign to "censor plays and pictures and to use the power of the state" against the activities of birth-control organizations; second, the organized Catholic opposition to the demand that our government lift the embargo on arms to the Spanish Loyalists and "to suppress the discussion of the Spanish issue by the press"; third, "the affinity and alliance with the reactionary business community that heretofore has maintained a historic affiliation with Protestanism."

1. While the first charge receives only minor emphasis in the article, it is so phrased as to conceal two very relevant facts: first, the standards of propriety and decency set up by Catholics for plays and pictures would have been acclaimed as necessary and reasonable by the vast majority of non-Catholics fifty years ago, and apparently have the approval of most non-Catholics today; second, the Catholic effort "to use the power of the state" was directed against the *repeal* of long-standing legislation, not toward new laws which might be dearer to the hearts of Catholics. Those who opposed the Catholic position were the innovators; it was they who wanted to "use the power of the state" to abolish regulations which the state had long previously enacted. In so doing, the opponents were obviously exercising their civil and political rights. So were the Catholics, when they took the opposite stand, even though they found themselves unable to accept "doctors and social workers" as the ultimate authority on social and political morality. How can a group that denies the right of citizens to "use the power of the state" on behalf of the Catholic view of public morality, and yet asserts the same right in the interest of their own theory, logically claim to be genuine liberals?

2. The issues of the Spanish civil war. In the article, these are oversimplified, just as they were oversimplified, from the opposite point of view, in many of the Catholic papers. In the one case, the importance of the religious aspect of the struggle is all but ignored; in the other case, the political, economic and social aspects received scant attention. I note, in passing, the assertion that the arms embargo constituted a violation of international law. How so? The assertion that "Catholic influence in the State

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Department and at the White House was a powerful and even a decisive influence" in this situation, is not new; neither has it ever been accompanied by a recital of supporting evidence. Almost fantastic is the charge that "Catholic influence . . . is being exerted today to influence our attitude toward Franco and our policy in North Africa."

Returning to the religious aspect of the Spanish internal conflict, I have to disclaim the well meant interpretation which the article puts upon my own attitude. As a matter of fact, I was not "silent on the Spanish issue." On October 6, 1936, I delivered an address over the radio in reply to certain persons and organizations that had accused President Roosevelt of sympathy with communism. Two million copies of the speech were printed and distributed by the Democratic National Committee. At one place in it I declared my preference for Franco over the Loyalists because of the hostility of the latter to religion. Franco's brand of fascism I detested quite as heartily as any other kind; but I regarded the preservation of religion as more important than the continuation of a spurious brand of democracy. That the Loyalist aimed at the crippling or utter destruction of organized religion in Spain seemed fairly well established by their past performances; their subsequent actions provided abundant confirmation.

I still hold that Franco was the lesser of two evils. It is possible for the Spanish people to get rid of fascism; it is not possible for any group of human beings to call back from the dead the thousands of religious, that is, nuns, priests and bishops who were assassinated by the Loyalists before the civil war came to an end. Nor would it have been a simple matter to combat the widespread, deliberate and continued assault planned by the Loyalists upon the institutions of organized religion.

To be sure, anyone who disbelieves in religion, or who regards it as unimportant, will logically and properly come to a different conclusion concerning the issues or the merits of the Spanish conflict. Any believer in religion who does not accept as trustworthy the accounts of the Loyalist outrages against and malevolent intentions toward religion can likewise honestly take that side of the argument. But I hold religion to be the dearest thing in life, and I accept the charges against the Loyalists under this head as adequately substantiated.

The article refers to "the campaign of Catholics to suppress discussion of the Spanish issue by the press," and their threats to boycott "newspapers that published editorials favorable to the Spanish government." Unfortunately, this accusation is only too well substantiated; but I do not recall that these tactics were employed by the really high-class Catholic periodicals. It was all pretty childish, reflecting an inferiority complex, or what my good friend, the late Archbishop Dowling, used to call "the psychology of persecution." However, Catholic publications are not the only ones that descend to such puerile performances.

3. Affiliation of Catholic leadership with reactionary business interests. This is the weakest of all the alleged grievances. It is also the most surprising; for it is represented as having developed since 1928. In this matter, my own memory and interest reach back some four decades beyond 1928, and I know from personal observation that this ugly charge has less substance today than it had at any previous time in the last fifty-five years. I do not think that an exponent of reactionary business would find any encouraging evidence of "affinity" in the document issued by the Hierarchy, February 7, 1940, entitled "The Church and Social Order." The decisive fact of the situation is that the vocal exponents of plutocracy and big-business philosophy are, with rare and insignificant exceptions, men who do not profess allegiance to the Catholic Church.

According to the article, this alleged tendency in Catholic leadership could so develop as to "rob us of a powerful and promising ally in the fight for humane values," etc. For two reasons the "tendency" will not "reach fulfilment"; first, because it does not exist; second, because the counteracting forces in Catholic thought and action will continue to be sufficiently aware of the Catholic social philosophy, sufficiently vigilant and sufficiently resourceful to kill any such "tendency" before it gets fairly started. Should it ever become formidable, the source of its strength will not be anything indigenous to Catholic social doctrine, but angry reaction and resentment against those socially illiterate persons who discredit social and economic reforms by identifying them with anti-Catholicism, or as they sometimes disingenuously and euphemistically term it, "anti-clericalism."

4. "What can we do about it?" The simple and straightforward answer is "nothing." Since there exists no serious grievance, there is nothing that clamors to be done: it is all a tempest in a teapot.

Any systematic endeavor to carry out the program outlined on the last page of the article would lead to at least three evil consequences: 1. Catholic social thinkers and reformers would find their difficulties and discouragements greatly increased and themselves more or less alienated from current social-reform movements. 2. A resurgence of anti-Catholic intolerance and Catholic retaliation; for the assumption that such a program could be operated in some serene polemical stratosphere, free from associations and implications of religious intolerance, is utterly naïve. 3. Not only substantial failure to attain the professed objectives, but a legacy of resentment, distrust, dissension and hate, which would set back indefinitely the plans and aims of all men of good will who pursue the ideals of human brotherhood and social justice.

Happily, there is no present indication that the egregious program will get anywhere. So far as I have been able to observe the general reaction up to date, it can be described in two words, "chilly indifference."

Washington, D. C. JOHN A. RYAN

How to Make a Poem

To wake walking to be being to seek between
To live long and devour demons collide
At the junction of the measures and the mean
Where the lions lounge in their pride

To lean drifting in denotation make
More out of less refine the unreason of mites
To get up late in early morning dress
And eat the breakfast terrors of the nights

VINCENT MCHUGH

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The Bandwagon

It was practical unanimity in behalf of a lofty cause. – *Mark Sullivan in The New York Herald Tribune discussing the defeat in the Senate of the President's $25,000 salary ceiling.*

The wise citizen who wants to cut the cost of his power might very well buy a little stock in his power plant and share in its profits. – *From an editorial against city ownership of public utilities in The New York Mirror.*

"Test-tube babies . . . mercy killings and sterilization" would follow enactment of a law which would permit doctors to give contraceptive advice to married women whose life might be endangered by childbirth, Dr. Frederick L. Goode, prominent Boston obstetrician, told the Legislative Committee on Public Health yesterday. – *From The Boston Daily Globe.*

Keep 'Em Rolling

Col. Henry B. Barry of the Jersey City Quartermaster Depot, who disclosed the purchase [of 75,000 pairs of dice for our armed forces], said the dice were a "comfort item." "We do not encourage gambling," he said. – *AP dispatch from Collingswood, N. J.*

Brave New World

The boys in Tunisia and Guadalcanal will feel better now. The New Jersey Senate last night unanimously approved a measure providing for issuance of special peddlers' licenses to veterans of the current war. – *From The Camden Courier-Post.*

That All-Out Effort

The other innovation is the employment of trained physical instructors who go through the plants demonstrating to both men and women workers how the job at hand can be done with maximum fatigue. – *From The Douglas Airview, a monthly publication of the Douglas Aircraft Company.*

Total-War Department

Mrs. Earl Adams, widowed mother of two men in the armed services, faces 45 days in jail for having violated Grosse Pointe's [Michigan] ordinance which bars use of any of its mansions as rooming houses. Six war workers and their families, tenants of Mrs. Adams in her 22-room house, face the threat of forcible eviction unless they remove themselves peacefully from the boundaries of the ultra-fashionable community.

Justice of the Peace Joseph V. Uvick, who sentenced Mrs. Adams after instructing a jury of Grosse Pointers to find her guilty, stated: "It doesn't matter if there is a war on; we can't change the law because of the war." – *From a news story in PM.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Knights, and Rusty Armor

SIR: May I draw your attention to the fact that Arthur Koestler's "Challenge to Knights in Rusty Armor" in The New York Times Magazine of February 14, 1943, did not find the echo it decidedly deserved. Except for Max Lerner's answer in PM, there was nothing to indicate that Mr. Koestler's article represents the symptom of a dangerous intellectual disease—if not of a systematic campaign—the fatal consequences of which we have observed in many countries during the crucial years when the tide of fascism began to rise.

I shall not examine the question how well Mr. Koestler is qualified to call retreat in the name of "leftist intellectuals" as long as most of them, every one more outspoken than Mr. Koestler, are still fighting on with unshakable courage—and with remarkable success. Mr. Koestler's willingness to "recognize the defeat of our aims," his ready acceptance of the thesis that this war is fought only "in defense of certain nineteenth-century ideals" "as the tories always said it was"—all this reminds me ominously of the attitude of many intellectuals in every decisive battle of the past—especially, but not only, in the German battle. I am not even thinking of the clever opportunists or of the much too impressionable literati swept off their feet by the "wave of the future." I am thinking only of those who in bitter resignation or cynical disillusionment made the final defeat inevitable because they were first defeated within themselves. This intellectual defeatism, this "*trahison des clercs*," was reflected in the so-called democratic Ullstein papers for which Mr. Koestler worked for fifteen years; it foreshadowed the political defeatism of the "appeasers" and finally of Vichy. It was one of the basic causes of Hitler's success—in Germany and in the world.

But the ideological position which Mr. Koestler tries to discredit by generalizing his purely personal desertion is not and never was the monopoly of "leftist intellectuals." There were and there are other people, too. There are the leading statesmen and political leaders of the United Nations, with their official declarations, there are many outstanding scholars and scientists with their books and essays, scores of good and not always "leftist" journalists trying, for example, "to discriminate between Germans and Nazis" without being likely "to be buried with military honors in the columns of The New Statesman and Nation." There are not only some dozens of great secular agencies studying and working for a real peace, but there are millions of religious people, Protestants, Catholics and Jews, all over the world who by the authorized voices of their duly appointed representatives have declared their deep conviction that the peace, the political and economic world order of the future, shall and must be determined by moral and humane principles common to all great religions or philosophies of all times. It is a hopeful sign that despite the unspeakable martyrdom of the Jewish people not one religious Jew, not one rabbi, has ever debased himself to such ignominious nonsense as to propose the "total obliteration" or the total sterilization of the whole German people. That was left to such "intellectuals" as Westbrook Pegler, Quentin Reynolds and even Ernest Hemingway, following the irresponsible Nathan Kaufman who rendered inestimable service to Mr. Goebbels. The "tories" who Mr. Koestler pretends are right in thinking of this war in terms of the nineteenth century will be very pleased to find

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his support in their clever campaign of sneering at and ridiculing the "starry-eyed idealism" of their opponents contrasted to their own "hard-boiled realism" proved in the past by their helpful assistance given to Mussolini, to Hitler, to Franco and to Japan. The slogan of "Knights in Rusty Armor," with the implication of the "Knight of the woeful figure," is perhaps as good as "globaloney." But they should not expect to have the satisfaction of seeing all their opponents commit suicide. Mr. Koestler is just a casualty. The great people's army for the peace has suffered and may suffer more serious losses without being disabled in its striking force. They are fighting the good fight. They have—in contrast to Mr. Koestler—kept the faith, this heroic faith without which no battle can be won—be it the battle of England and of Stalingrad or the battle for the peace.

New York City FRANZ SCHOENBERNER

Negro Girls

SIR: Your recent article entitled "I Teach Negro Girls," by Virginia L. Snitow, is very commendable. The author is to be congratulated on her deep understanding of the Negro problem. She really studied them with an open mind and found out what was under the surface. Most writers only touch the surface, but she reached the roots.

I am a Negro and I have experienced the conditions of which she wrote. I see those things around me every day and appreciate her being able to put us on paper in a true light. Daily we come in contact with insults, humiliation and discrimination because of the pigment of our skin. From the cradle to the grave we are constantly reminded of our color, and mistreated accordingly. We are restricted at every turn and feel like squirrels in a cage. Going round but getting nowhere.

Naturally we feel frustrated and react in different ways. We believe in America and would like to share and enjoy the country which our ancestors helped to build. Over three hundred years of sweat, blood and tears went into this country without any or little material gain by our race. We are Americans, too. People like Miss Snitow renew our faith in this land of ours. Keep writing, Miss Snitow. I hope your article will be studied and read by many people.

Detroit, Mich. MRS. MINNIE SMITH

Puerto Rico Starves

SIR: A congressional committee is "investigating economic and social conditions" in Puerto Rico. But how long will it be until our government actually does something tangible for the thousands of families now starving on that island?

Why not immediately bring in shiploads of unemployed Puerto Ricans to pick the fruit and vegetable crops in Florida and other areas crying for lack of manpower? President Roosevelt, with his far-reaching wartime authority, could cut across congressional and bureaucratic red tape and order this.

Working as a labor organizer in all parts of Puerto Rico, I frequently had to help revive women who fainted from hunger at meetings at which I spoke. So I found it expedient to carry a first-aid kit, hot liquids in thermos bottles, and emergency food. On every hand there was evidence that the great majority of the natives were steadily breaking down from undernourishment.

Victims of a defective economic system under which 90 percent of the island's people have long been pitilessly exploited, the Puerto Rican masses are in grave danger of extermination.

Our government has a clear duty here. Will it doom these innocents, or enable them to survive?

New York City ROSE PESOTTA

Races and Ethnic Groups

SIR: In your editorial comments under the heading "Racial Discrimination in Algeria," you refer to the Jews and Moslems as "races." May I be permitted to point out that neither the Jews nor the Moslems constitute "races." Jews are persons who are adherents of either the Jewish religion or Jewish culture. Moslems are persons who are adherents of the Moslem religion or culture. By no stretch of the imagination can either Jews or Moslems be regarded as "races." One might with equal justice —that is, with no justice at all—speak of the "Catholic race" and the "Protestant race."

May I add that it is the considered view of such authorities as Haddon, Hogben and Huxley, as well as of many others, that it would be far better if some such noncommittal term as "ethnic group" were substituted for the vicious confusion which is the term "race." Recent anthropological writings make it quite clear that anthropologists are generally following this practice, and it would be good to see The New Republic doing likewise.

Philadelphia, Pa. M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU

Solving the Manpower Problem

SIR: The article by John Beecher in the March 8 issue of The New Republic, and other information you have been supplying, makes it clear that what is needed to solve the manpower problem is to unfreeze the agricultural wage structure; to abolish the Tydings Amendment to the Selective Service Act, which freezes Southern farm workers where they are least needed; provide an effective FSA program for migrant farm workers and underemployed farm families; open up job opportunities on a basis of equality for Negroes, and similar measures.

There is under these conditions no need for such a labor-conscription measure as the Austin-Wadsworth bill. To the contrary, the passage of such a bill would militate against a truly democratic solution of the situation and help to establish a fascist pattern which it would be exceedingly difficult to break down.

New York City A. J. MUSTE

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Albert Pucci of Hennepin, Illinois, writes to protest Stanley Hyman's review of a group of books by soldiers in our issue of March 15. Mr. Pucci thinks Mr. Hyman has no right to set up a certain attitude toward the war and then criticize the soldiers for not living up to it. . . . James A. Smith of Hollywood, California, thinks that the new plans of the National Resources Planning Board give a great opportunity for American progressives to work together and may create the revitalization of the New Deal. . . . F. B. Porter of Chicago attacks our editorial, "The Erlich-Alter Executions," and says he thinks these men were probably guilty. . . . Ellen McCoole of Newark, New Jersey, thinks Dr. Salvemini was unfair to the Catholic Church in his article, "The Pope and Fascism," March 8. . . . Ralph Stoody, director of Methodist Information, writes to say that the speech of Vice President Wallace mentioned by George Soule in The New Republic of March 22 was not given at Columbus, Ohio, but at a conference on the Christian Bases of World Order held on the campus of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. . . . Julius Eichel of Brooklyn, New York City, writes about two conscientious objectors, Stanley Murphy and Louis Krawczky, who were forcibly fed at the federal prison at Danbury, Connecticut, during a hunger strike. Mr. Eichel thinks these men should be released and that no conscientious objector should be sent to prison. . . . Ervin A. Henning of Chicago says that in the Soule-Mager argument (March 15) his vote is for Mager.

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Books in Review

The Haunted House

IN ONE SENSE, ghost writing is as old as the first five books of the Bible. The higher critics believe that the Pentateuch was written by anonymous scribes who used the name of Moses; but that was a long time after his death. Moses didn't hire them "just to put my thoughts in order"—without explaining that they would also have to provide most of the thoughts; nor did he collect royalties and make profitable lecture engagements on the strength of other men's work. Perhaps it was Alexandre Dumas *père* who invented ghost writing in the modern sense, for he was not only an author but also the proprietor and registered trademark of a literary factory. Almost everybody has heard about his asking a lady whether she had read his latest novel. "And have you, my very dear friend?" she is supposed to have answered. But Dumas must have soothed his conscience by reflecting that he invented most of his own plots, and that he could, if he chose, write better than any of the men he hired—except perhaps that beast of an Auguste Maquet.

Ghost writing took a new turn in the 1920's. Publishers at the time were looking for out-of-the-way authors—it didn't matter who, as long as their lives had been unusual—and the result was a flood of books by gold-diggers, call girls, pansies, confidence men from Wall Street, worm-eaten aristocrats, soldiers of fortune and Bowery bums. Most of these books were actually written by half-cent-a-word hacks, who in some cases hadn't even been introduced to the celebrity or notoriety whose name would be signed to their work. I remember a great cocktail party given for three of these notorieties: a famous divorcée, a society editor and somebody else whose name I forget—could it have been Mae West, or was she the one who did her own writing? In a hotel ballroom, the three putative authors sat simpering at one another while they exchanged autographed copies of the books they hadn't seen until they were printed—"But it's marvelous, my dear. How did you ever do it?" In a small room to one side sat the three real authors, drinking too many cocktails and dripping wisecracks from the corners of their mouths, while they wondered what their next ghosting jobs would be.

The 1930's were a much more sober era in which this particular type of ghost writing became less popular, but there were other types that took its place. Business men wanted to publish their thoughts on how to achieve prosperity without taxes, so they hired ghosts. Statesmen wanted to publish their apologies for utter failure, but they hadn't time to invent their own opinions. Financiers sometimes found famous writers to do their biographies, and the writers sublet or subcontracted the job to ghosts. The memoirs of utterly wise old doctors were being widely read. Some of these books were written by the men whose names appeared on the title page, but others had a smell of brimstone and graveyard mold. Sometimes it seemed that the whole publishing world was becoming a haunted house.

It hasn't been any less haunted since the war, in spite of the fact that many professional ghosts are now in Washington writing speeches for government officials. Others can always be found to put on the white bedsheet of anonymity, so long as they are paid almost a living wage for wearing it. Today there is a great demand for these nameless and faceless presences. The public wants books by military heroes, most of whom would rather face an enemy battalion than attack a typewriter single-handed. "That's all right," says the literary agent; "just give the facts to Jack Terwilliger and he'll put them together." Sometimes when the book appears, you read on the title page that it is "The Story of Captain Billy Smith, *as told to* J. Rodney Terwilliger." That's a fair enough statement of fact, but recently some publishers have tried to avoid making it, on the ground that the public prefers to regard the book as the work of the hero himself. Sometimes there is a foreword or a footnote thanking Mr. Terwilliger "for his invaluable assistance"—which usually means that Terwilliger did the writing, but Captain Smith or Senator Blank or the beautiful Mrs. Baloney added a few words of his or her own. Most often the real author gets no credit at all, and the reader is left to infer his help from the fact that a book supposed to be written by a rough and ready soldier has a finish as glossy as bathroom enamel.

It might even happen that the story originally dictated or tapped out with two fingers by the soldier was better than the ghosted job that finally reaches the public. I have heard, though without confirmation, that the Book of the Month Club accepted a recent book by a military hero after reading the first rough draft. Then a ghost was put to work on it and, after seeing what a slick job he did, the Book of the Month Club changed its mind. Lindbergh was wiser, in the old days, when he insisted on writing his own manuscript and having it published as written.

Sometimes the profits on a ghosted book may be enormous. Let us imagine that a literary agent goes to see a publisher and asks him how he'd like to have a book by Sergeant Casey Jones, the man who crossed the Pacific in an amphibious tank. "I'd like it fine," says the publisher, "but how do you know he can write it?"—"Don't worry about that," says the agent. "I'm retaining Jack Terwilliger, the best rewrite man in the business"—"rewrite man" being the polite term for a ghost. They dicker over the terms, and finally—in view of the great public interest in Sergeant Jones's feat—the publisher may agree to pay $10,000 as an advance on royalties.

And that might be only the beginning. Let us imagine that Terwilliger does the best job of his secret career—that the book is serialized in one of the big weeklies (circulation, more than 3,000,000)—that it is chosen for distribution by the Book of the Month Club (first printing, more than 300,000 copies)—that it sells another 100,000 copies through the bookstores—that it is reproduced in capsule form by Reader's Digest (with more than 8,000,000 readers)—that a newspaper syndicate buys the second-serial rights—that Hollywood comes across with a big

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check—in a word, that the story of the amphibian tank and how it sank two Japanese destroyers is mass-exploited by mass circulation to a mass audience. J. Rodney Terwilliger doesn't get much money out of it; he was working for a fixed fee. Sergeant Casey Jones may get more than $300,000, a sum which he probably deserved for his exploit, but certainly did not earn by having three or four conversations with a ghost.[1]

I can't say that I'm losing much sleep over the financial exploits of a mythical Sergeant Jones, or even over the money that Terwilliger didn't receive. The Authors' League, however, might take some action to keep the more innocent ghosts from being exploited; they should always receive a percentage of the author's royalties, and this provision should be included in the standard contract forms. The protection of the public is a much more important question. There is a French law which provides that ghosts must be given credit, and it was used some years ago by the heirs of Auguste Maquet; his name must now be printed on the title page of "Les Trois Mousquetaires." A similar law would be useful in this country, although I doubt that Congress will ever get round to passing it. Meanwhile it isn't pleasant to think that what is really a form of petty fraud has become a fairly respectable practice among publishers. It isn't pleasant to think that any prosperous pimp or gangster, any crooked financier, any secret sympathizer of Hitler's or any hillbilly fascist can hire a book to be published under his name, just as he can hire a crooked lawyer or a bookkeeper used to juggling figures. Some day writers and publishers and the public at large may pay a pretty heavy price for living in haunted houses.

MALCOLM COWLEY

The Political Gargoyles

Business as a System of Power, by Robert A. Brady. New York: Columbia University Press. 340 pages. $3.

THERE ARE STRUCTURAL TRENDS in the political economy of the United States which parallel those of Germany. They are more important than the fifth-column small-fry and perhaps as important as Nazi armies, for they have an objective chance to shape the societies we are going to live in. "Nothing fundamental in history, program, structure of organization or social outlook divides clearly the policies of the Spitzenverbände [peak trade associations] within the totalitarian countries from those of the liberal-capitalist states." In Germany, Italy and France it was "these bodies who made the critical decisions without which the final destruction of democracy could not have taken place." The unmistakable economic foundations of a corporative system are being formed in this country by monopoly capitalism and its live political gargoyle, the NAM and its affiliates. These are the expertly documented opinions of a political economist who knows Germany and America.

Dr. Brady's book is a study of the key employers and trade associations of international business: the Reichsgruppe Industrie and the National Association of Manufacturers, the Zaibatsu and the Federation of British Industries. Because the span and weight of these self-regimented worlds of business is so great, to analyze them is to outline the total political economies of Germany, the United States, Italy, Japan, Britain and Vichy France. Such a comparative study brings out the significance of the "crackpot bureaucrats" and "theorists" of the NAM. For here, in brief, are the common structures and associations of the business classes of each major capitalist country and an indication of their logical outcome in the political, economic and ideological spheres. Here, in agreement with Franz Neumann's work, is a theory of the character of fascism which links it with a monopoly capitalism which is interfused with state and implemented by army.

From Dr. Brady's account of Italy we can learn something of the economic and political potentialities of Catholicism; from Japan and Britain we can learn something about the possibilities of our own business cousinhoods and clans; from Vichy France we can learn of the loyalty of business confronted with certain war situations; from Germany we learn about business and foreign policy, about unions whose militancy was absorbed by dependence upon a pluralist state. From all of them, and from the record of our own ruling class, we can learn a lot about business as a system of economic regimentation and a political gargoyle draining from the top gutters the Augean ideology of status capitalism.

The composition of the *status quo* is a major factor in forming the lines of the opposition. Brady has not inferred these lines, but so clearly do they lie in his materials that to discuss them is to display business as a system of power. The character this opposition must assume is indicated by four factors: the extent of "self-regimentation" now existing among business organizations; their pressure upon and interfusion with crucial branches of the government; the decisive role which property plays in the power and ideology of these strata; and the enemies which they, as highly informed and rational bodies, have selected as focal.

As business is more and more bureaucratized under the propertied cliques of the Spitzenverbände, as "outsiders" and small entrepreneurs are mashed out, any interest which comes into conflict with any segment of business has no alternative but to appear to attack all of business and the tenets of the capitalist system for which it stands. The answer to this situation is simple, at least on the ideological front: accept the challenge their organization throws down. Their size and daring leave no choice but for an equal or greater audacity. For the changes which they portend are much further from the ideal pattern of democracy everyone talks about during wars than any proposal from the honestly democratic Left.

Given the internal organization and total position of business, to champion a "genuine" liberal capitalism or a return to such a system by means of anti-trust legislation or "a mixed economy" is, in effect, to thrust one's face into a favorite mask of the Spitzenverbände. At the least, it is to yield to a nostalgia which can never become the basis of realistic action. The powers and requirements of the existing economic structure are such that no halfway economic measure could long retain the political conditions of its being. Trust-busting is not exactly fruitless: it probably increases economic and political collusion. As President

[1] This imaginary example was suggested to me by Harrison Smith. The story of the three ghosts at a cocktail party was first told by Isidor Schneider. In writing a ghost story like this, you have to be careful about your own credit lines. – M. C.

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Roosevelt said in 1938, "The power of a few to manage the economic life of the nation must be diffused among the many or be transferred to the public and its democratically responsible government." An alternative he mentioned at that time, in recommending the TNEC, was management by competition; the TNEC has shown that this is not and, under present technological conditions, cannot be the case.

The opposition can no longer hide behind the ambiguous formality of "government control of business," for this mode of attack does not specify who or what government is. The fact is that a major medium of "control" of business, outside and within the state, is the peak trade association. "Self-government in business" has replaced laissez-faire; ceasing to be an umpire, the state can carry the ball. Wars underline this fact. Recent reports of "post-war planning" by business make it clear. It is not only a question of who can "pressure" the government more strongly; it is a question of who *is* the operative government. Although the NAM has several attributes of a "government," it lacks its own legitimized force. In Germany, Italy and Japan its counterparts have this essential of truly twentieth-century business. Therefore, rather than depend so much upon "government," the opposition must confront that which gives economic royalists their power, within and without government: private ownership of the apparatus of production.

A misunderstanding of Berle's and Means's earlier remarks on the role of property in the structure of the business classes has been ridden, not to death, but to the Right. The error underlying this discussion of the "separation" of ownership and "control" has been to focus upon business as business and to overlook business as a political power, an ideology and a system of status.

Although definitive statistics are badly needed, it may be assumed from such studies as are now available that by no means is "control" of corporations out of the hands of their owners. At the top of every country, the executives are blended by blood and interest, by idea and status with propertied families and cliques. In Japan the owning business clans formally adopt their executives as members of the family. The fact that the executive's vision of his own career-chances is within the corporate hierarchy is enough to plant his loyalties in that hierarchy, and this is true whether he makes one dollar or one hundred thousand dollars a year. And the trade-association cliques, the supra-managerial level of the business class, are recruited not only from loyal corporation managers, but also from the forgotten men of recent discussions: the propertied or rentier class. It is on the supra-managerial level that members of controlling family dynasties are found. They may have hired executives to perform the *business* functions of their ownership; they have by no means turned over the larger economic and political interests of property to them. Private ownership of productive property is the crucial stake defended; around it pivot the hierarchies of power, and it is central to the attempts to legitimate the undemocratic power of business. It is precisely where this property is a political, a larger economic and an ideological category that the Spitzenverbände and the propertied families are most active. They have increasingly approached economic matters with a political frame of reference. That is why the enemy of big business must become politically alive.

The chief social power upon which a genuine democracy can rest today is labor. The political power of business indicates clearly that it is not enough for labor to struggle economically with business. Unless trade unions unify into an independent political movement and take intelligent action on all important political issues, there is danger that they will be incorporated within a government over which they have little control.

The history of organized business everywhere indicates clearly that it knows its chief enemy to be an independent and political labor movement fructified by pro-labor intellectuals. The history of European labor during the inter-war period shows that its destruction was due, in no small part, to a failure to accept the responsibility and power commensurate with its exercise of economic and political pressure. In the face of the highly organized and politically powerful *status quo*, which Brady has ably portrayed, labor must not merely play at pressure politics and seek a governmental protection which would deprive it of its traditional weapons. Somehow it must become a militant political movement.

Robert Brady has not here been concerned with the form and lines the opposition must take. Placing more weight upon description of the impersonal mechanics of society than upon the schemes of villains or the plans of heroes, he has raised the critical problems. His book will not be a popular one: it is too full of polysyllabic prose. But the facts he has so skillfully gathered necessitate a careful and radical rethinking of what is happening in the capitalist world.

C. WRIGHT MILLS

In Praise of None

"TILDA," by Mark Van Doren (Henry Holt, $2.50), tells the story (tells it, alas, so carefully) of Tilda Wyatt's falling in love with the man who stares across the courtyard into her bedroom window. *Honi soit qui mal y pense:* no voyeur is he, John Morgan Hood, but an army officer, AWOL, whose grief at the death of his wife is so deep that only the the sight of Tilda's red hair can assuage it. Tilda, of whose virtue you are assured, for she is an air-raid warden and a dutiful girl, gets herself a pair of opera glasses and stares right back at him. Eventually they meet, and after many a carefully detailed absurdity, part, as Hood goes back to camp. But you know that when the heart-breaking war is over, their hearts, whole, will be united in marriage—and you are ready to tear your hair. Tilda is in the best escape tradition of wartime romance—nothing swashbuckling or obvious, but just enough references to ration coupons to remind you—the tradition which the fox recommends of running with the hounds to find escape.

"The Whole Heart," by Helen Howe (Simon and Schuster, $2.50), tells the story of Jim Hurd, from the last war to the present one. Its bravest feature is its form: Miss Howe makes use of the almost forgotten device of narration through letters and diary excerpts. Four women offered Jim their love. The first, Mary, was timid, and she became a social worker. Barbara, the second, rich and sophisticated, married and divorced him, and she became psychotic. The third, Constance, loved him for his own

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sake, and she committed suicide. The fourth, Briggsy, was an extrovert, and she landed him for good—but that's not the moral of the story. The theme uniting these four separate phases of Hurd's history is his ambition, always growing and never able to define itself. In the beginning Mary had warned him that he was not a man of whole heart. At that time he had just published a brilliant novel, but before he could grow as an artist, he succumbed to easy money and reputation, married Barbara, and was nearly defeated by her contemptuous infidelity. His third love, Constance, as delineated, is the perfect woman: passionate, intelligent, companionable. But Jim does not know himself well enough to meet a love as clear as hers. He leaves her, and kills her. He has become world-famous as a radio commentator, but he has also become a man divided between his inner and his outer life, the remorseful husband of a bouncing, motherly moron. Parts of this story succeed, particularly the breakdown and suicide of Constance, and the humiliation of Jim's marriage to Briggsy. But it relies too much on obvious and simple solutions, stock counters and generalized keys.

More satisfying, though by no means so well written as either of the foregoing novels, is "Time Enough Later," by Kylie Tennant (Macmillan, $2.50). It is satisfying because the author not only observes the dictum of having story flow from character (Miss Howe attempted that, too) but goes to the trouble of documenting her focus of attention, lifting character out of the vagueness of its moral foundations and suggesting its centrality by a deployment of personal traits. The story, laid in Sydney, Australia, tells how Maurice Wainright, a middle-aged, flabby, hypochondriacal charlatan in desperate straits, takes up lodgings at the home of the Drews, a bickering, proletarian family. But Bessie Drew, a naïve, stupid but spirited lass of seventeen, is impressed with him. He offers her a position as a secretary in the photographic studio which he is organizing (he will get on his feet in no time), and, as expected, her secretarial duties consist of scrubbing floors, getting Wainwright out of scrapes and shooing his bohemian friends away from the door. Then the hapless Maurice decides to seduce her. His elaborate preparations and his failure at love-making constitute the book's most successful chapters—successful because transformed as all farcical situations are when handled tenderly. The rest of the story, relating Maurice's vacillating attempts to win her in marriage and Bessie's gradual acquiring of enough of Wainright's sophistication to perceive his fraudulence, along with the development of a subsidiary, and rather unnecessary, theme proclaiming the virtues of country life, fails to provide sufficient dramatic tension for the required growth of character.

One solution to the problem of characterization is to write a novel without characters. In "Danger! Keep Out" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50) Edward J. Nichols has done precisely that. People move through his pages, and you hear their names, but their faces are so grimy with petroleum, and there is so much hissing of steam and crackling of fire that you never get to see or hear them clearly. But the petroleum industry emerges. You are taken on an exciting, intimate tour of an oil refinery, shown its complicated, dangerous operations, and given excursions into the surrounding areas of Whiting, Indiana. The writing is adept at catching atmospheric qualities, the strains of a pressure still, the vapors and odors of oil, the grimness of the men at work. Written from an experience which is relived in the writing, this book even enjoys the advantage of reading occasionally like a novel.

Which is a great deal more pleasing than a book that reads almost consistently like a leaflet. "Jake Home," by Ruth McKenney (Harcourt, Brace, $3), Eileen's sister's first long novel and her major work, is clearly meant to be a proletarian epic and is, unfortunately, nothing of the kind. It begins well enough, with Jake's early poverty, his rise to respectability and his revolt against the middle class. Its longest single narrative thread, Jake's cross-country tour in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti and the Communist Party, contains some excellent passages, particularly the scenes describing the hostility which Jake encounters as he drives farther west.

But the failure of Jake Home is entirely Miss McKenney's fault. To begin with, the historical episodes are derived from the official Party version of universal cosmology. Second, Miss McKenney does not know what to do with Jake's love life, and in order to create female characters a shade more complex than Eileen she has had to rely on the techniques of the Hollywood adaptation of her humorous opuscule. Worst of all are her editorial interjections, more vulgar than naïve, in praise of Browder as a great man, and her condemnations of Freud and James Joyce. Not only does she put in Jake's mouth words to the effect that Joyce was a guy who never knew the real things in life and covered up a cheesy mind with a lot of style, but very soon after that she comes up with Vogue's own description of the dress her heroine, Kate, is wearing, a dress which "flowed around her waist, fell from her shoulders, swathed her hips, smooth, limpid in line, without a single wrinkle, showing every lovely curve in Kate's fragile body. . . ."

The real thing, no doubt. ISAAC ROSENFELD

Science v. Myth

Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, by M. F. Ashley Montagu. New York: The Columbia University Press. 216 pages. $2.25.

IF YOU KNOW someone who is well educated, humane, intelligent, willing to face facts and without already formed opinions on race differences, you should refer him to this book. He would find it well written, convincing and important in its implications. He would see that there is no basis for belief in the biological superiority of any human group, however widely groups may differ physically and no matter how much individuals may vary. He would learn that inbreeding resulting from man's self-domestication or from environmental isolation produces differences between groups. Except for possible mutations, man's biological inheritance is extraordinarily stable. "Were every feeble-minded individual to be sterilized for the next two thousand years, the reduction of feeble-minded individuals in the population at the end of that time would not exceed 50 per-cent."

He would also discover that cross-mating usually improves the human stock when there is no discrimination against half-breeds. In this man does not differ from other

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living things, animal or vegetable, except indeed those that have been closely bred for particular traits. He would recognize, further, that race prejudice is characteristic only of recent Western history, and that it is an aggressive tendency released by the frustrations of modern life. He would agree, finally, that the whole idea of biological race is a myth as applied to man, and with Dr. Montagu would consider *caste* more expressive than *race* to describe the facts of privilege and discrimination so often met with among us when different ethnic groups live in close contact. To him the American Negro, for example, would be a caste group and not a race, since Negroes differ psychologically from whites primarily because they have been treated differently, and not because they demonstrably carry inferior germinal determinants.

So far so good. But if our reader kept his intelligence and did not develop a counter-bias to offset that of the person who displays race prejudice, he would see that none of the facts and reasonings in Dr. Montagu's excellent book could possibly affect the race problem in less than the time it would take to rid the world of half its feeble-minded. He would know that myths are no less real for being myths, and that it takes a myth to kill a myth. Myths slain by fact will rise again. When Dr. Montagu suggests that education might teach the truth he is beating the wind. A culture teaches only its real beliefs, no matter what is uttered in the classroom. And we believe in aggression. What is the science and reason to which Dr. Montagu appeals but a rationalization of Western man's aggressive drive towards supremacy, a drive which today happens to be turned against itself, as is natural enough for an aggression? Reason is either naïvely accepted or blindly denied (psychologically the same thing) by every Western group. We are drunkards over reason—we can't take it or leave it. "He who is not for me is against me."

Aggression is so natural in our culture that many psychologists have imagined that it is an intrinsic human trait. Race antagonism is but one of its effects. Modern warfare, as Dr. Montagu sees, is another. But the greatest of our aggressions is the aggression of reason—the tyranny of *either-or* we have imposed upon ourselves and upon our world. To rid ourselves of this *Führer* we shall have to rethink our culture from top to bottom. Only then shall we get in quantity the kind of reader I have imagined for Dr. Montagu's stimulating book, and only then will our world be delivered from race prejudice. JOHN STORCK

A Reader's List

THE GERMAN DELEGATION AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, by Alma Luckau (Columbia, $5). The Allied statesmen and their experts, who at present are preparing schemes for a future peace settlement, would do well to ponder some of the lessons that this volume contains. Miss Luckau, a history instructor at Vassar College, has done a remarkable job of editing. She not only went patiently through the German archives, but also gathered valuable information from private sources. Her greatest asset is a collection of letters that the late Dr. Walter Simons, Commissioner General of the German delegation, sent to his wife from Versailles. Both Miss Luckau and Dr. James T. Shotwell (in his very pointed foreword) indicate that the German diplomatic strategy in 1919 was

"No student or general reader need feel the lack hereafter of adequate and authoritative factual knowledge of any phase of the subject . . . presents general conclusions of the highest interest."—*The Chicago Sun*

DEVELOPMENT OF COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISE

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This work represents a five-year inquiry by a group of thirty specialists (recruited from ten institutions of higher learning, five branches of the federal service, and one private foundation). The group set up two objectives: 1) determination through an inductive study of the basic factors in the growth of collective undertakings; 2) an exposition of these undertakings as going concerns, including the underlying controls, administrative patterns, financial policies, personnel conditions, and, so far as possible, their operational efficiencies.

"For myself I welcome this volume with loud cheers. It is precisely the thing we have needed for years. In it, for the first time, are assembled mountainous data concerning the actual operation of socialized activities in the United States, and to some extent in other countries. *The volume is an invaluable guidebook for anyone who is constructively interested in the planning of a new post-war world.*"—HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, New York University.

"A truly impressive job. In the light of this detailed and discriminating research, the thesis of labor's virtual nonparticipation in collectivist developments is demonstrated, and the consumer and public interests emerge as virtually the sole movers for collective enterprise. It would seem superfluous to dwell on *the indebtedness of social thought and of social practice to the group of scholars who have established this truth.*"—SELIG PERLMAN, University of Wisconsin.

"Considering the world conflict of collectivistic and individualistic ideas, this work may prove as outstanding in the history of social thought as classics like Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." Particularly in so far as the United States is concerned, it should dispel the prestige of European collectivistic ideologies and center attention upon the actual process of socialization already under way. . . . Unless very untimely social disturbances occur, in all probability it will be accepted as *one of the outstanding social works of this period of history.*"—GEORGE R. DAVIES, State University of Iowa.

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faulty, but are aware also of the shortcomings of the Versailles Treaty.

MODERN JAPAN AND SHINTO NATIONALISM, by D. C. Holton (Chicago, $2). An academic treatise on the relation between religion and state policy in Japan. Shintoism, which before 1868 was not an organized religion but a generic term for a group of cults whose articles of faith differed widely, is now the doctrine of the government, particularly of the army. Japanese soldiers are heedless of death and danger, says the author, because they believe that death in battle earns for them not only immortality but a kind of semi-divine status. Some reporters have given more mundane explanations for the apparent fearlessness of Japanese soldiers, but the case presented here is strong. The documentation is impressive, but the writing ponderous.

CHANGING THE COLONIAL CLIMATE, Puerto Rican Speeches and Reports of R. G. Tugwell (Bureau of Supplies, Printing and Transportation, San Juan, P. R., no price given). How many of those who are clamoring for the scalp of Governor Tugwell are interested in the people and problems of Puerto Rico and how many are merely interested in taking a cut at the New Deal and the President through a person who has served both honorably and well? The number of copies of this sizable booklet of 265 pages which are ordered from the island will be a rough criterion. The story it tells and the problems of colonial administration it outlines in the quietest and most level-headed of terms, are in simple truth fascinating ones for students of government. The crux of Mr. Tugwell's problem is that the majority in the Puerto Rican legislature and the island's non-voting Representative in Congress now belong to different political parties. The governor must, of course, coöperate with the party of the legislature, the party in power; and Mr. Tugwell has done that. The other party, in such a case, inevitably finds the governor an enemy and a tyrant. Underneath all of this is the problem of too much land given to sugar and not enough to other food. Mr. Tugwell began to study that problem in 1934. Naturally, his interest in the problem of absentee landlords has made him few friends, except among the people of Puerto Rico.

GIANTS GONE: MEN WHO MADE CHICAGO, by Ernest Poole (Whittlesey, $2.75). A series of concise biographical sketches which straddle the line between objective history and popular narrative. As an intimate of many of Chicago's better drawing rooms, Mr. Poole has acquired a fund of anecdote about such personalities as Marshall Field, Charles Yerkes, Philip Armour, Carter Harrison, Jane Addams and William Harper. Unfortunately he has failed to integrate his material in terms of any significant perspective. As a result, these memoirs often give the impression of being haphazardly selected and, in total, add very little to an understanding of Chicago's giants.

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Robert Reuben has covered national and international news for The Washington Post during the last three years, including the North African invasion and the Vichy French relations.

Agnes Smedley, who was for some years Shanghai correspondent for The Frankfurter Zeitung, is the author, among other books, of "China's Red Army Marches" and "China Fights Back."

John A. Ryan was elevated to the rank of domestic prelate by Pope Pius XI in 1933. He has, at one time or another, been a professor of moral theology, economics, sociology, industrial ethics and political science. He is director of the social-action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. His books include "Catholic Principles of Politics" and "Social Doctrine in Action: A Personal History."

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John Storck, a college teacher for many years, is now writing a book to be called "Thinking for Tomorrow."

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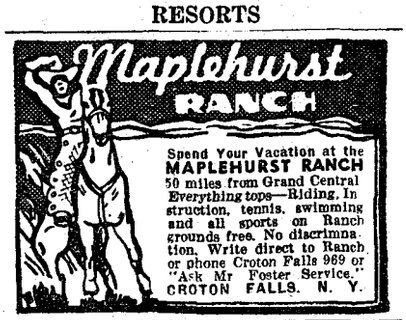

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